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OBSERVATIONS

ON DIVERS

Paſſages of Scripture.

Placing many of them in a Light *altogether new*;

Aſcertaining the Meaning of ſeveral *not determinable* by the Methods commonly made uſe of by the Learned;

Propoſing to Conſideration *probable Conjectures* on others, different from what have been hitherto recommended to the Attention of the Curious;

And more *amply illuſtrating* the Reſt than has been yet done, by Means of Circumſtances incidentally mentioned

IN BOOKS OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

INTO THE EAST:

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II, RELATING TO

VI. The Eaſtern Methods of doing Perſons *Honour*.
VII. Their *Books*.
VIII. The *Natural*, *Civil*, and *Military* State of JUDÆA.
IX. ÆGYPT.
X. *Miſcellaneous* Matters.

THE SECOND EDITION,

Corrected with Care, and enlarged with many *new* Obſervations: Numbers of them taken from ſome MS. Papers of the celebrated SIR JOHN CHARDIN.

Impellimur autem Naturâ, ut prodeſſe velimus quamplurimis imprimiſque docendo, ... Itaque non facile eſt invenire, qui quod ſciat ipſe, non tradat alteri.
CIC. de fin. lib. iii.

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CHAP. VI.

Of the Eaſtern Methods of doing Perſons Honour.

OBSERVATION I.

OF theſe the *preſenting gifts* is one of the moſt univerſal; and the uſe of them was, as well as is, much more extenſive in the Eaſt than with us.

Such as are prejudiced againſt the Sacred Hiſtory, and *unacquainted with Eaſtern cuſtoms*, may be ready, from the donations to the Prophets, to imagine they were a *mercenary* ſet of people, and rudely to rank them with *cunning-men* and *fortune-tellers*, who will not from principles of benevolence reveal thoſe ſecrets, or foretell thoſe future events, of the perfect knowledge of which they are ſuppoſed to be poſſeſſed, but demand of the anxious enquirer a large reward. This, however, will make impreſſions on none but thoſe who know not the oriental uſages, which Maundrell long ſince applied, with ſuch clearneſs and force, to one of the moſt exceptionable paſſages of the Old Teſtament, that he has ſufficiently ſatisfied the mind

upon this point. As he has expreſſly applied it to a paſſage of Scripture, it would not have been agreeable to my deſign to have mentioned this circumſtance, had I not had ſome additional remarks to make upon this head, which poſſibly may not be ungrateful to the *curious* reader, and which therefore I ſhall here ſet down. I ſuppoſe my reader acquainted with Maundrell; but it will be proper, for the ſake of perſpicuity, firſt to recite at full length that paſſage in him I refer to.

" *Thurſday, March* 11. This day we all " dined at Conſul Haſtings's houſe; and af- " ter dinner went to wait upon *Oſtan* the " *Baſſa* of Tripoli, having firſt ſent our " preſent, as the manner is among the " Turks, to procure a propitious recep- " tion.

" *It is counted uncivil to viſit in this country* " *without an offering* in hand. *All great men* " expect it as a kind of tribute due to their " character and authority; and look upon " themſelves as *affronted*, and indeed *de-* " *frauded*, when this compliment is omitted. " Even in familiar viſits amongſt inferior " people, you ſhall ſeldom have them come " without bringing a flower, or an orange, " or ſome other ſuch token of their reſpect " to the perſon viſited: the Turks in this " point keeping up the ancient oriental cuſ- " tom hinted 1 *Sam.* ix. 7. *If we go* (ſays " Saul) *what ſhall we bring the man of God?*

" *there*

" *there is not a preſent*, &c, which words " are queſtionleſs to be underſtood in con- " formity to this eaſtern cuſtom, as relating " to a token of reſpect, and not a price of " divination [1]."

Maundrell doth not tell us what the preſent was which they made Oſtan. It will be more entirely ſatisfying then to the mind to obſerve, that in the Eaſt they not only univerſally ſend before them a preſent, or carry one with them, eſpecially when they viſit ſuperiors, either civil or eccleſiaſtical; but that this preſent is frequently a *piece of money*, and that of *no very great* value. So Dr. Pococke tells us, that he preſented an Arab Sheik of an *illuſtrious deſcent* on whom he waited, and who attended him to the ancient Hierapolis, with a *piece of money* which he was told *he expected* [2]; and that in Ægypt an Aga being diſſatisfied with the preſent he made him, he ſent for the Doctor's ſervant, and told him, that he ought to have given him a piece of cloth, and, if he had none, *two ſequins*, worth about a guinea, muſt be brought to him, otherwiſe he ſhould ſee no more, with which demand he complied [3]. In one caſe a piece of money was *expected*, in the other two ſequins *demanded*. A trifling preſent of money to a perſon of diſtinction amongſt us would be an affront; it is not ſo however, it ſeems, in the Eaſt. Agree-

[1] P. 26, 27. [2] Vol. 2. p. 167. [3] Vol. 1. p. 119.

bly to theſe accounts of Pococke, we are told in the travels of Egmont and Heyman, that the well of Joſeph in the caſtle of Cairo is not to be ſeen without leave from the Commandant; which having obtained, they in return *preſented* him with a *ſequin*[4]. Theſe inſtances are curious exemplifications of Mr. Maundrell's account of the *nature* of ſome of the Eaſtern preſents, and ought by no means to be omitted in collections of the kind I am now making.

How much happier was the cultivation of Mr. Maundrell's genius than of St. Jerome's! Though this father lived ſo many years in the Eaſt, and might have advantageouſly applied the remains of their ancient cuſtoms to the elucidation of Scripture, to which if he was a ſtranger, he muſt have been an egregiouſly negligent obſerver; yet we find him, in his comment on Micah iii. 11, roundly declaring, that by a Prophet's receiving money, his *propheſying became divination*. And when he afterwards mentions this caſe of Saul's application to Samuel, as what he foreſaw might be objected to him, he endeavours to avoid the difficulty, by ſaying, We do not find that Samuel accepted it, or that they even ventured to offer it; or if it *muſt* be ſuppoſed that he received it, that it was rather to be conſidered as *money preſented to the tabernacle*, than the *rewards*

[4] Vol. 2. p. 76.

of

of propheſying[5]. How embarraſſed was the Saint by a circumſtance capable of the moſt clear explanation! Fond of allegorizing, he neglected the ſureſt methods of interpretation, for which he had peculiar advantages: how different are the rewards of divination, which were to be *earned*, from the *unconditional preſents* that were made to perſons of figure upon being introduced into their preſence!

Before I quit this Obſervation, I cannot forbear remarking, that there are other things preſented in the Eaſt, beſides money, which appear to us extremely low and mean, unworthy the quality of thoſe that offer them, or of thoſe to whom they are preſented; and conſequently that we muſt be extremely unqualified to judge of theſe oriental compliments. In what light might an European wit place the preſent of a *Governor* of an Ægyptian village, who ſent to a Britiſh *Conſul* fifty eggs as a mark of reſpect[6], and that in a country where they are ſo cheap as to be ſold at the rate of ten for a penny[7]?

[5] Prophetæ Hieruſalem in pecunia divinabant, neſcientes aliud eſſe prophetiam, aliud divinationem: —Videbantur ſibi quidem eſſe Prophetæ: ſed *quia pecuniam accipiebant, prophetia ipſorum facta eſt divinatio.*—Nec quenquam moveat illud quod in primo Regum libro legimus: Saul volentem ire ad Samuelem dixiſſe puero ſuo, &c: non enim ſcriptum eſt, quod Samuel acceperit: aut quod illi obtulerint.—Sed fac eum accepiſſe, ſtipes magis æſtimandæ ſunt tabernaculi, quam munera prophetiæ. [6] Pococke's Trav. Vol. 1. p. 17. [7] Seven or eight for a medine, or three farthings. Pococke, Vol. 1. p. 260.

Observation II.

What the preſents were that were made the ancient Prophets, we are not always told; but all the particulars of that made by Jeroboam's Queen to the Prophet Ahijah are given us, 1 Kings xiv. 3. I very much queſtion, however, whether that was any part of the diſguiſe ſhe aſſumed, as an eminent Prelate ſuppoſes [1], who imagines ſhe preſented him with ſuch things as might make the Prophet think her to be a *country-woman*, rather than a *courtier*.

It undoubtedly was not a preſent that *proclaimed* royalty, that would have been contrary to Jeroboam's intention that ſhe ſhould be concealed; but it doth not appear to have been, in the eſtimation of the Eaſt, a *preſent only fit for a country-woman* to have made: for d'Arvieux tells us, that when he waited on an Arab Emir, his mother and ſiſter, to gratify whoſe *curioſity* that viſit was made, ſent him, early in the morning after his arrival in their camp, a preſent of paſtry, honey, freſh butter, with a baſon of ſweetmeats of Damaſcus [2]: now this preſent differs but little from that of Jeroboam's wife, who carried loaves, cracknells, (or rather cakes enriched with ſeeds,) and a cruſe of honey, and was made by princeſſes that

[1] See Patrick on 1 Kings xiv. 3. [2] Voy. dans la Pal. par la Roque, p. 50.

avowed

avowed their quality. The preſent then of Jeroboam's wife did not diſcover her quality, but it was not ſo mean a preſent as the Biſhop ſeems to ſuppoſe.

Sir John Chardin tells us, ſomewhere in his travels, of an officer whoſe buſineſs it was to regiſter the preſents that were made to his maſter, or miſtreſs; and I have ſince found the ſame practice obtains at the Ottoman court: for Egmont and Heyman, ſpeaking [3] of the preſents made there on the account of the circumciſion of the Grand Signior's children, tell us that *all* theſe donations, with the time when, and on what occaſion given, were carefully regiſtered in a book for that purpoſe. If a collection of papers of this ſort, belonging to the Baſhaw of Gaza, the Moſolem of Jeruſalem, or the Arab Emirs of the Holy-Land, were put into our hands; or if our countrymen, that reſide in the Levant, were to furniſh us with minute accounts of the preſents made there which come to their knowledge, it would be not only an amuſing curioſity, but would enable us, I make no queſtion, to produce inſtances of modern gifts parallel to thoſe that are mentioned in the Scripture hiſtory, in almoſt all caſes, and if not abſolutely in all, I dare ſay ſimilar to thoſe that appear moſt odd to us, at the ſame time, that it would enable us to enter into the rationale of them much better than we do now.

[3] Vol 1. p. 214.

Thus the making preſents of eatables, not only to thoſe that were upon a journey, which, in a country where they carried their own proviſions with them, was perfectly natural; but to thoſe whom they viſited in their own houſes, as the wife of Jeroboam did to Ahijah, and ſome of them perſons of great diſtinction, as Saul would have done to Samuel, the Judge of Iſrael as well as a Prophet, had not all his proviſions been expended, in a journey which proved more tedious than he expected, appears to have been a cuſtom perfectly conformable to what is at preſent practiſed in the Eaſt, and had a ground for it in nature, which modern travellers have explained to us.

"This cuſtom" (of making preſents,) ſays Maillet[4], "is *principally* obſerved in the *frequent viſits* which they make one another through the courſe of the year, which are *always preceded* by preſents of fowls, ſheep, rice, coffee, and other proviſions of different kinds. Theſe viſits, which relations and friends make regularly to each other, were in uſe among the ancient Ægyptians, and though they are often made without going out of the ſame city, yet they never fail of laſting three or four days, and ſometimes eight. They carry all their family with them, if they have any; and the cuſtom is, as I have juſt obſerved, to ſend preſents before-hand,

[4] Let. 11. p. 137.

"pro-

" proportionate to their rank, and the num-
" ber of their attendants."

When they conſulted a Prophet then, the Eaſtern modes required a preſent; and they might think it was right rather to preſent him with eatables than other things, becauſe it frequently happened that they were detained there ſome time, waiting the anſwer of God, during which time hoſpitality would require the Prophet to aſk them to take ſome repaſt with him. And as the Prophet would naturally treat them with ſome regard to their quality, they doubtleſs did then, as the Ægyptians do now, proportion their preſents to their avowed rank and number of attendants. The preſent of Jeroboam's wife was that of a woman in affluent circumſtances, though it by no means determined her to be a princeſs. That made to the Prophet Samuel, was the preſent of a perſon that expected to be treated like a *man in low life*; how great then muſt be his ſurprize, firſt to be treated with diſtinguiſhed honour in a large company, and then to be anointed king over Iſrael!

But though this ſeems to have been the original ground, of preſenting common eatables to perſons who were viſited at their own houſes, I would by no means be underſtood to affirm they have always kept to this, and preſented *eatables* when they expected to ſtay with them and take ſome repaſt, and *other things* when they did not. Accuracy is not

to

to be expected in ſuch matters: the obſervation however naturally accounts for the riſe of this ſort of preſents.

In other caſes, the preſents that anciently were, and of late have been wont to be made to eminent perſonages for ſtudy and piety, were large ſums of money [5], or veſtments: ſo the preſent that a Syrian Nobleman would have made to an Iſraelitiſh Prophet, with whom he did not expect to *ſtay* any time, or indeed to *enter his houſe*, "Behold, I thought he "will ſurely *come out to me*, and ſtand, and "call on the name of the Lord his God, "and ſtrike his hand over the place, and re-"cover the leper [6]," conſiſted of ten talents of *ſilver*, and ſix thouſand pieces of *gold*, and ten *changes of raiment*. It is needleſs to mention the pecuniary gratifications that have been given to men of learning in the Eaſt in later times; but as to *veſtments*, d'Herbelot [7] tells us, that Bokhteri, an illuſtrious poet of Cufah in the ninth century, had ſo many preſents made him in the courſe of his life, that at his death he was found poſſeſſed

[5] Sums of money are preſented alſo to *others*, by Princes and Great Perſonages. So Sir J. Chardin obſerves, in his MS, on occaſion of Joſeph's being ſaid to have given Benjamin three hundred pieces of ſilver, Gen. 45, 22, that the Kings of Aſia almoſt always make preſents of this kind to Ambaſſadors, and to other ſtrangers of conſideration who have brought them preſents. So the Khalife Mahadi, according to d'Herbelot, gave an Arab that had entertained him in the deſert, a veſt, and a purſe of ſilver.]

[6] 2 Kings 5. 11.

[7] P. 208, 209.

of an hundred complete ſuits of clothes, two hundred ſhirts, and five hundred turbants. An indiſputable proof of the frequency with which preſents of this kind are made in the Levant to men of ſtudy: and at the ſame time a fine illuſtration of Job's deſcription of the treaſures of the Eaſt in his days, conſiſting of *raiment* as well as *ſilver*, Job xxvii. 16, 17 [8].

Observation III.

[They not only make preſents of *proviſions*, but of other things which they imagine may be acceptable, and in particular of *conveniences for the making their eating and drinking more agreeable*.

So when Dr. Perry travelled in Ægypt, and viſited the temple at Luxor, he ſays,

[8] So Sir J. Chardin tells us in his note here, that *it is cuſtomary through all the Eaſt to gather together an immenſe collection of* furniture and clothes, *for their faſhions never alter. They heap them up in wardrobes, as they heap up mud for morter in building. This is the ground of this metaphor.*

I have ſome doubt however, I muſt confeſs, of the juſtneſs of this account of the grouud of this image. If it means any thing more than what is mentioned Zech. 9. 3, which I much queſtion, I ſhould ſay that poſſibly, as the word tranſlated *duſt* ſignifies *plaiſtering*, and that rendered *clay*, *morter*, the heaping up ſilver like plaiſtering may point out the piling up ſilver, againſt the walls of their apartments, as if they had been plaiſtered with ſilver; and the preparing raiment as morter, may poſſibly refer to the walls covered with bitumen, or morter of a dark colour, veſtments being heaped up from the bottom to the top of theſe repoſitories of theirs. But the more ſimple interpretation, I firſt pointed out, ſeems much preferable.]

" We

" We were entertained by the Caſhif here " with great marks of civility and favour: " he ſent us, in return of our preſents, ſeve- " ral ſheep, a good quantity of bread, eggs, " *bardacks*, &c[1]." Theſe bardacks he had deſcribed a little before[2], in ſpeaking of a town called *Kenne*: " Its chief manufac- " tory," he there tells us, " is in bardacks, " to cool and refreſh their water in, by means " of which it drinks very cool and pleaſant " in the hotteſt ſeaſons of the year. They " make an inconceivable quantity of theſe, " which they diſtribute to *Cairo*, and all " other parts of *Ægypt*. They ſend them " down in great floats, conſiſting of many " thouſands, laſhed together in ſuch a man- " ner as to bear the weight of ſeveral people " upon them. We purchaſed a good many " of them for the fancy, at ſo inconſiderable " a price as twenty pence an hundred; and " are really ſurpriſed how they could make " them for it."

Here we ſee *earthen veſſels* preſented to the Doctor, and thoſe of a very cheap kind, along with proviſions, and this apparently becauſe they are of great uſe in that country for cool- ing their water. Perhaps we ſhall be leſs ſurpriſed after reading this, at the baſons and *earthen veſſels* preſented to David at Maha- naim, by ſome of the great men of that part of the country, along with ſheep, flour, honey, &c. 2 Sam. xvii. 28, 29.]

[1] P. 346, 347. [2] P. 339, 340.

OBSER-

OBSERVATION IV. III.

But though nothing is more cuſtomary in the Levant than the giving and receiving of preſents, and perſons of the moſt exalted characters for dignity, virtue, or piety, make *in common* no difficulty of receiving them, there are ſome inſtances however of thoſe that have refuſed them.

So Monſ. Maillet tells us, that at the circumciſion of their children they are commonly wont to receive preſents [1]; nevertheleſs he tells us that Iſhmael, who was Baſhaw of Ægypt while he reſided there, and whoſe only ſon was circumciſed while he was in that high office, refuſed to accept any preſents on that occaſion, (though every one, according to his reſpective rank and quality, was prepared to make him a preſent, according to the Turkiſh cuſtom, and though Iſhmael's expences were extremely great,) the French Conſul's excepted, which he had the politeneſs to receive, telling the interpreters that *he had determined not to accept of any preſents*, but that he could not refuſe this mark of friendſhip from the Conſul of France, for whom his was the moſt ſincere [2].

This was very extraordinary, Maillet ſays, indeed the moſt extraordinary thing in that ſolemnity, which he repreſents as one of the moſt pompous ſpectacles in the world. What

[1] Let. 11. p. 136. [2] Let. 10. p. 79.

the occaſion of Iſhmael's departure from eſtabliſhed uſages was, we are not told: he had doubtleſs his reaſons. Eliſha alſo had *his* for not receiving the preſent brought him by Naaman, 2 Kings v. 16; who yet accepted that brought by Hazael, Ch. viii. 9. What thoſe reaſons were, we are not informed; but I dare ſay, that aſſigned by Biſhop Patrick, or rather Abarbinel, was not among them—that the one preſented him with ſilver, and gold, and raiment, and ſuch like things of value, whereas the other made him a preſent of food, bread and wine, fruit and fowl, which was a *fit preſent* for the Prophet, who might be preſumed to be weary with his journey. According to oriental notions, there was no greater impropriety in accepting a preſent of ſilver and gold, than of proviſions; it is ſufficient to obſerve that on ſome occaſions *they think proper to decline preſents*, without having any objection to the *nature* of them. Secular men, in ſome caſes, have refuſed them as well as the Old Prophets, but in common they are preſented to all people of diſtinction.

IV. Observation V.

When d'Arvieux attended that Arab Emir whom I mentioned under the ſecond Obſervation, a veſſel happened to be ſhipwrecked on that coaſt. The Emir perceived it from the top of the mountains, and immediately repaired

repaired to the ſhore to profit by the misfortune. Staying ſome time, it grew ſo late that he determined to ſpend the night there, under his tents, and ordered ſupper to be got ready. "Nothing," ſays d'Arvieux, "was more eaſy; for every body at Tar-"toura," (in the neighbourhood of which town the Emir then was,) "vyed with each "other as to the preſents they brought of "meat, fowl, game, fruit, coffee, &c." Were they not preſents of *this kind* that the children of Belial neglected to bring, 1 Sam. x. 27?

A band of men, we are told, whoſe hearts God had touched, went with Saul, when he returned home from Gibeah: what for? Doubtleſs to attend him in expeditions againſt the enemies of their country: in thoſe expeditions the places through or near which he paſſed, ſeem to have furniſhed him and his men with proviſions, as the Arabs of Tartoura did this Emir; but ſome ſons of Belial, ſome perverſe towns, or ſome unhappily-diſpoſed particular perſons of wealth and figure, refuſed to pay him this compliment, deſpiſing theſe efforts of his againſt the enemies of their country, till the affair with the Ammonites perfectly ſettled his authority. Whether the refractorineſs of theſe people was the cauſe or not, I am not able to ſay, but it ſeems ſufficiently plain that he had diſmiſſed this band of men, before that exploit of his againſt the Ammonites, and for

ſome

ſome time before had led a leſs public and martial life, 1 Sam. xi. 5.

In like manner Gideon, one of the judges of Iſrael, expected this ſort of compliment, and met with the like inſult, which he ſeverely puniſhed, Judg. viii. 5, 8, 16, 17.

We are told indeed by ſome commentators, and the learned Druſius is of that number, according to Pool[1], that it was the cuſtom to make preſents to a king when he was inaugurated; but I do not know on what authority. The remark of Vatablus however, in the ſame collection, is without doubt very inaccurate, who, upon the Chaldee paraphraſt's giving this ſenſe of this clauſe, *they came not to ſalute him*, ſays, this ought to be underſtood of the *firſt* ſalutation, which was not to be *unattended with preſents*. Things muſt have been very different in the Eaſt anciently, from what they are now, if *every viſit* did not require an acknowledgment of this kind.

As to the ground of the complaint then that they brought him no preſent, I ſubmit it to the reader to determine which is the moſt natural ſuppoſition, whether that of thoſe who imagine, the complaint relates to ſome perſons omitting to make him a viſit of congratulation, as the Chaldee paraphraſt ſeems to think; or of thoſe who apprehend, it refers to the neglect of accommodating

[1] Vide Poli Syn in Loc.

him,

him, in his marches from place to place, with proviſions for himſelf and attendants.

Barzillai's and other people's ſupplying David at Mahanaim with honey, butter, ſheep, wheat, &c, on theſe grounds, appears to have been not a mere act of benevolence and pity, but the paying him the wonted reſpect with which their princes were treated; and conſequently acknowledging him, in the beſt manner, their ſovereign, while the greateſt part of the Iſraelites were in rebellion againſt him.

Observation VI. V.

There is *often* in theſe countries a great deal of pomp and parade in preſenting their gifts; and that not only when they are preſented to princes or governors of provinces, but where they are of a more private nature.

Thus Dr. Ruſſell tells us [1], that the money that the bridegrooms of Aleppo pay for their brides, is laid out in furniture for a chamber, in cloaths, jewels, or ornaments of gold, for the bride, whoſe father makes ſome addition, according to his circumſtances; which things are ſent *with great pomp* to the bridegroom's houſe three days before the wedding. The like management obtains in Ægypt, and is very livelily deſcribed by

[1] P. 112.

Maillet, in his account of that country[2], where theſe gifts are carried with great pomp too to the bridegroom's houſe, but on the marriage-day itſelf, and immediately before the bride: carpets, cuſhions, mattreſſes, coverlets, pignates[3], diſhes, baſons, jewels, trinkets of gold, pearls, girdles, plate, every thing down to the wooden ſandals wrought with mother-of-pearl, which they call cobcal. And *through oſtentation*, ſays this writer, they *never fail* to load *upon four or five horſes* what might eaſily be carried *by one*; in like manner as to the jewels, trinkets, and other things of value, they place in *fifteen diſhes* what a ſingle plate would very well hold.

Something of this pomp ſeems to be referred to in Judges iii. 18, where we read of *making an end of offering the preſent*, and of a *number* of people that bare it, all which apparently points out the introducing with great diſtinctneſs, as well as ceremony, every part of the preſent ſent to this ancient prince, and the making uſe of as many hands in it as might be, conformably to the modern *ritual* of the Eaſtern courts. But what I chiefly take notice of it for, is to illuſtrate the account that is given us of Benhadad's preſent to the Prophet Eliſha, which conſiſted of forty camels burthen of the good things of Damaſcus[4]. This Syrian prince

[2] Let. 10. p. 86. [3] What he means by this word, I do not know. [4] 2 Kings 8. 9.

without doubt ſent Eliſha a preſent anſwerable to his magnificence; but can it be imagined that it was the *full* loading of forty camels, and at the ſame time wholly conſiſting of *proviſions*, ſuch as bread and wine, fruit and fowl, as a Jewiſh Rabbi ſuppoſed, if I underſtand Biſhop Patrick right [5]?

A gentleman, I remember, once ſhewed me a prodigious tooth in his poſſeſſion, which apparently had belonged to one of the monſters of the deep, but was found by one of his anceſtors among the treaſures of a Roman Catholic who was fond of relics, wrapped up in ſilk, beſides two or three outer covers of paper, on one of which was written, *A tooth of the holy Saint Paul.* "Don't you think," ſaid the humourous poſſeſſor, turning himſelf to the company with this curioſity, "that Saint Paul had a fine ſet of grind-"ers?" One would imagine theſe commentators muſt have ſuppoſed the Prophet Eliſha's were full as large, to be able to make uſe of forty camel-loads of proviſions, equivalent to twenty thouſand pound weight [6] at leaſt, during his ſtay at Damaſcus.

[5] In his Com. on the place. [6] See Ruſſell, p. 56, who tells us there, that the *Arab camel* carries one hundred Rotoloes, or five hundred pounds weight, according to which forty camel-loads is equal to twenty thouſand pounds; but the Turkman camel's *common load* is one hundred and ſixty Rotoloes, or eight hundred pounds weight: if we ſuppoſe theſe camels of Damaſcus were only of the Arab breed, twenty thouſand pounds weight was their proper loading.

The true light in which we are doubtleſs to conſider this paſſage is, that the various things that were ſent to Eliſha for a preſent, were carried *for ſtate* on a number of camels, and that no fewer than forty were employed in the cavalcade; not that they carried each a full loading. And we may very well believe that beſides eatables, and wine of Helbon, ſome of their valuable manufactures of white wool [7] were contained in the preſent: they were as properly the good things of Damaſcus, as the produce of their enchanting gardens.

Observation VII.

[That preſent that the children of Iſrael ſent to Eglon king of Moab, which I was mentioning under the laſt Obſervation, was a *kind of tribute*, or an acknowledgment of *inferiority and ſubjection*; and the preſents that are ſent to powerful princes, by other kings, are frequently looked upon in this light by thoſe that receive them.

Sir J. Chardin has remarked, *that preſents are viewed in this light*, in ſuch caſes, *not only in Turkey, but almoſt through all the Levant*; and he very juſtly applies the thought to Pſ. lxxii. 10. Thoſe preſents were evidently of that kind, the following verſe puts it out of all doubt; but the haughty

[7] Ezek. 27. 18.

Aſiatic

Aſiatic princes oftentimes put that conſtruction on preſents that were not ſent with any ſuch intention. As they do ſo now, they probably did ſo anciently: to which ſome leſs powerful or diſtreſſed princes might the more willingly ſubmit, as there was an *equivocalneſs* in theſe marks of attention paid to potent princes.]

OBSERVATION VIII. VI.

Maillet, in that paſſage I quoted in the laſt article but one, ſpeaks *diminutively* of the the cobcal, or wooden ſandals of the ladies, which are carried in their nuptial proceſſions with the reſt; though, according to his own account, they are not wholly without ornaments. Shoes perhaps of this kind are referred to by the Prophet Amos, chap. ii. 6, where ſhoes have been commonly, and it appears from hence with *juſtneſs*, underſtood to mean ſomething of a trifling value.

The Turkiſh officers, and "alſo their "*wives*," ſays Rauwolff, ſpeaking of Tripoli on the coaſt of Syria[1], "go very richly "cloathed with rich flowered ſilks, arti- "ficially made and mixed of ſeveral co- "lours. But theſe cloaths are *commonly* "*given them* by thoſe that have cauſes de- "pending before them, (for they do not love "to part with their own money,) to pro-

[1] P. 38.

" mote their cauſe, and to be favourable to " them."

I ſee here, methinks, a picture of the corruption of the Jewiſh Judges that Amos complains of: *ſilver* made them pervert the judgment of the righteous; nay, *ſo mean a piece of finery as a pair of wooden ſandals for their wives* would make them condemn the innocent poor, who could not afford to make them a preſent of equal value.

Amos viii. 6. is, I ſuppoſe, to be underſtood in the ſame light: the rich defrauding the poor, knowing that if thoſe poor complained, they could carry their point againſt them for a *little ſilver*, if not for a pair of *cobcal*.

VII. OBSERVATION IX.

But mean as the preſent of a pair of cobcal may ſeem, preſents of *ſtill leſs value* are frequently made in theſe countries. " In " familiar viſits, amongſt inferior people, " you ſhall ſeldom have them come without " bringing a *flower*, or an *orange*, or ſome " other ſuch token of their reſpect to the " perſon viſited," ſays Maundrell[1]. Biſhop Pococke confirms this, when ſpeaking of his drawing near an encampment of the Arabs that attended him, in their way to Mount Sinai, he ſays, " Here one of them, who " had a difference with one of the company,

[1] See Obſ. 1.

" as

" as he was in his own country, came and " brought him a *flower*, as a preſent, which " being accepted of, was a ſign that all was " made up [2]."

Theſe trifling preſents however are not confined to the meaneſt of the people, for Egmont or Heyman tells us [3], that on their leaving Scala Nuova, ſome Greeks brought them *flowers* and *odoriferous herbs* as tokens of their friendſhip. In what a ſtrong point of light, as to their veneration for our Lord, doth this place the preſent the Eaſtern Magi made him: in the circumſtances in which they found him, a flower, an orange, (or a citron,) or any ſuch trifle, had been ſufficient to introduce them to the young child; but mean as his appearance was, they treated him as a royal child, and even after they found the poverty of his parents, preſented him with preſents of the *richeſt kind*, gold, frankincenſe, and myrrh, ſuch as the Queen of Sheba preſented to Solomon in his glory. But here doubtleſs we are to reſt, and content ourſelves with this ſimple explanation: to go on, and ſuppoſe the frankincenſe was deſigned *by them*, or intended by *providence itſelf*, to intimate his deity; the myrrh his being a mortal; and the gold his being a king; is a refinement that is certainly unnatural, and abſolutely in the monkiſh taſte.

[2] Vol. 1. p. 140. [3] Vol. 1. p. 125.

Observation X.

[But though things of very little value are ſometimes offered as preſents, thoſe to whom preſents are made do not think themſelves always obliged *graciouſly* to accept every thing that is brought, or even to diſſemble their diſlike; they frequently reject the preſent, and refuſe the favour ſought.

The behaviour of an Aga in Ægypt to Dr. Pococke, mentioned in the firſt Obſervation of this chapter, demonſtrates this; as does alſo this paſſage of Capt. Norden, "The "Cacheff of Eſna was encamped in this "place. He made us come aſhore. I waited "immediately upon him, with ſome *ſmall* "*preſents*. He received me very civilly, and "ordered coffee to be ſerved me. But he "*refuſed abſolutely what I offered him as a* "*preſent*, and let me know by the interpreter, that, in the places from whence "we were come, we had given things of "*greater value*, and that we ought not to "ſhew *leſs reſpect* to him[1]. Something of the like nature appears in many other paſſages in travels.

If a preſent was not ſomewhat proportionate to the quality of the perſon applied to, the circumſtances of him that offered it, and the value of the favour aſked, it was rejected.

[1] Vol. 2. p. 183.

Lambs

Lambs and *ſheep* were often given as preſents. So the Cacheff I have been ſpeaking of, made Norden and his company a preſent the next day of two *very fat ſheep*, together with a great baſket of bread [2]. The reys, or boat-man, that had carried them up the Nile, we are told in like manner, came to ſee them three days before, and made them a preſent of an *excellent ſheep*, together with a baſket of Eaſter bread [3].

Perhaps we may be ready to imagine, preſents of this kind were only made to travellers, that wanted *proviſions*; but this would be a miſtake. Sir John Chardin, in his MS, expreſsly tells us, *it is the cuſtom of the Eaſt for poor people, and eſpecially thoſe that live in the country, to make preſents to their* Lords *of lambs and ſheep, as an offering, tribute, or ſucceſſion. Preſents to men, like offerings to God, expiate offences* [4].

So D'Arvieux mentions *lambs*, among the things offered to him as preſents, when he officiated as Secretary to the Great Emir of the Arabs. (Voy. dans la Pal. p. 62.)

[2] P. 184. [3] P. 182. [4] Coutume d'Orient que les pauvres gens, ſur tout des Champs, donnent a leur Seigneurs des agneaux & moutons en preſens, en ſigne d'offrande, tribut, ſucceſſion. Preſents auxhommes, comme les offrandes a Dieu expient les Pechez.—By the term ſucceſſion I preſume is meant a preſent made to a great man to obtain his favour, in caſe of diſpute, about ſucceeding to an inheritance, or part of it.

The

The Jewiſh people were in a low ſtate in the time of Malachi, and almoſt entirely engaged in country buſineſs.

How energetic, if we aſſemble theſe circumſtances together, is the expoſtulation of the Prophet! "If ye offer the blind for ſa-
"crifice, is it not evil? And if ye offer the
"lame and the ſick, is it not evil? Offer it
"now *unto thy Governor*, will he be pleaſed
"with thee, or accept thy perſon?" Mal. i. 8.

When they made preſents of lambs or ſheep, they brought thoſe that vere *very fat*: would a Jewiſh Governor have accepted one that was *blind*, and conſequently half-ſtarved? or pining with *lameneſs* or ſickneſs?

Observation XI.

The common preſent that is now made to the Great in theſe countries is an *horſe*; there is reaſon to think an *aſs* might formerly anſwer the ſame purpoſe.

"If it is a viſit of ceremony from a *Ba-*
"*ſhaw*," ſays Dr. Ruſſell, "or other per-
"ſon in power, a *fine horſe*, ſometimes with
"furniture, or ſome ſuch valuable preſent,
"is made to him at his departure." [1] Dr. Perry has given us many inſtances of horſes being preſented: among others, he tells us when a perſon has the dignity of a Bey conferred on him, the new-made Bey preſents

[1] P. 81.

that

that officer from whom he receives the enſign, that is ſent him on the part of the Sultan, with *a horſe*, a fur of marte zebeline, and twenty thouſand aſpers [2]. In another place he tells us the new Baſhaw of Ægypt, ſoon after his arrival, had three *exceeding fine horſes* ſent him as a preſent from ſome one of the Beys; and the next day a ſtring of twenty-four was preſented to him on the part of all the Beys that were preſent [3].

As *aſſes* were uſed in the more remote ages of antiquity, and were eſteemed no diſhonourable beaſts for the ſaddle, Sir J. Chardin, in his MS, ſuppoſes that when Samuel diſclaimed having taken the *aſs* of any one, when he denied his having defrauded any, oppreſſed any, or taken any bribe, 1 Sam. xii. 3, he is to be underſtood of not having taken any aſs *for his riding*. In the ſame light he conſiders the ſimilar declaration of Moſes, Numb. xvi. 15. His account is, *Aſſes being then eſteemed very honourable creatures for riding on* [4], *as they are at this very time in Perſia, being rode with ſaddles, though not like thoſe for horſes, yet ſuch as are commodious, the Lawyers make great uſe of them. Conſult* Numb. xvi. 15, *for Moſes is there to be underſtood as ſaying, that no beaſt for the ſaddle, ſuch as were wont to be preſented to Grandees and Emperors, had been accepted by*

[2] P. 50. [3] P. 208. [4] See Numb. 22, 21, 30. Judges 5, 10. 2 Sam. 16. 2.

him.

him. The words of Samuel are to be conſidered after the ſame manner.

And this, I make no doubt, is *one* thought involved in this exculpation of themſelves, though perhaps it doth not contain the whole of what they meant [5].

Observation XII.

People that go into the preſence of the Great carry with them ſome gift to make way for them, or ſend it before them; on the contrary, when a ſuperior viſits an inferior, it is expected that the inferior ſhould make the viſiter a preſent at his departure.

This is intimated in the firſt quotation under the laſt Obſervation, but is directly affirmed by Sir J. Chardin, in one of the notes of his MS. *It is the cuſtom of the Eaſt,* he ſays, *when one invites a Superior, to make him a preſent after the repaſt, as it were in acknowledgment of his trouble; frequently it is done before it — it being no augmentation of honour to come to the houſe of one that is an inferior. But they make no preſents to equals, or thoſe that are below themſelves* [6].

Sir John applies this cuſtom in the Eaſt, to Jeroboam's propoſing to the Prophet, that propheſied againſt the altar at Bethel, to give him a *reward* if he would go with him, and refreſh himſelf, 1 Kings xiii. 7. And he

[5] More ſeems to be meant 1 Sam. 8. 16. [6] Upon *ſuch* like occaſions, I ſuppoſe, he means.

thinks

thinks this would have been underſtood by the king, as treating the prophet as a ſuperior: "Jcy donc le roy vouloit traiter le "prophete comme ſon ſuperieur."

I am much obliged to this writer, for the very clear account he has given of this eaſtern cuſtom; but I am ſomewhat apprehenſive it is improperly applied to this paſſage of Scripture. I cannot eaſily ſuppoſe it was Jeroboam's intention to acknowledge the prophet his ſuperior. I ſhould imagine nothing more was intended, by what he propoſed to do, than what was done to Jeremiah by Nebuzar-adan the captain of Nebuchadnezzar's guard, when he gave that prophet *victuals and a reward, and let him go*, Jer. xl. 5: and, I apprehend, no one imagines that commander deſigned to acknowledge the Jewiſh prophet to be his ſuperior.

If it is applicable to any ſacred ſtory, it ſeems to me to be that of Eſau's coming to viſit his brother, on which occaſion Jacob preſented him with a conſiderable number of cattle, telling him he *ſaw his face, as though he had ſeen the face of God*, Gen. xxxiii. 8, 10. There may be other paſſages which this cuſtom may *more exactly* illuſtrate; but if there be, I do not now recollect them.]

Observation XIII. VIII.

I will not puſh my remarks on the preſents of the Eaſt any farther here, except-

ing the making this ſingle obſervation more, that the ſending preſents to princes to induce them to help the diſtreſſed, has been practiſed in theſe countries in late times, as well as in the days of Aſa, of whom we read, that he "took all the ſilver and the gold "that were left in the treaſures of the houſe "of the Lord, and the treaſures of the "king's houſe, and delivered them into the "hand of his ſervants: and king Aſa ſent "them to Ben-hadad the ſon of Tabrimon, "the ſon of Hezion king of Syria, that "dwelt at Damaſcus, ſaying, There is a "league between me and thee, and between "my father and thy father: *behold, I have "ſent unto thee a preſent of ſilver and gold;* "come and break thy league with Baaſha "king of Iſrael, that he may depart from "me[1].

To us it appears ſtrange, that *a preſent* ſhould be *thought* capable of inducing one prince to break with another, and engage himſelf in war; but as it was anciently thought ſufficient, ſo we find in the Geſta Dei per Francos[2], that an Eaſtern nobleman, that had the cuſtody of a caſtle called Haſarth, quarrelling with his maſter the prince of Aleppo, and finding himſelf obliged to ſeek for foreign aid, *ſent preſents* to Godfrey of Bouillon, to induce him to aſſiſt him. What they were we are not told;

[1] 1 Kings 15. 18, 19. [2] Tome 1. p. 730.

but

but gold and ſilver, the things Aſa ſent Benhadad, were frequently ſent in thoſe times to the Croiſade princes [3], and might probably be ſent on this occaſion to Godfrey.

But to proceed. Preſents were frequently ſent to the great, before thoſe that ſent them made their appearance: I have therefore conſidered them firſt; the forms of Eaſtern ſalutation follow.

OBSERVATION XIV. IX.

The Eaſtern ſaluations differ conſiderably, according to the difference of rank of the perſons they ſalute.

The *common* ſaluation, Sandys ſays [1], is laying the right-hand on the boſom, and a little declining their bodies; but when they ſalute a perſon of *great rank*, they bow almoſt to the ground, and kiſs the hem of his garment. Egmont and Heyman, agreeably to this, tell us [2], that two Greek noblemen that introduced them to the exiled Chan of Tartary, who reſided at Scio, *kiſſed his robe* at their entrance, and that they took their leave of him with the ſame ceremonies; and Dr. Pococke [3], that when he attended the Engliſh Conſul on a viſit of ceremony which he made the Paſha of Tripoli, upon his return from meeting the Mecca caravan,

[3] Vide Geſta Dei, &c. p. 736. [1] P. 50. [2] Vol 1. p. 258. [3] Vol. 2. p. 237.

the

the two Dragomen (or interpreters of the Conſul) *kiſſed the Paſha's garment*, and put it to their foreheads, as ſoon as he was ſeated, when he granted a requeſt that was made, and when they went away[4]. Pitts, le Bruyn, and Thevenot[5], agree with Sandys alſo in the accounts they give of the *common* ſalutation. Which compliment the laſt-mentioned author tells us, he ſaw the Grand Signior himſelf pay the people, when he rode through the ſtreets of Conſtantinople in great ſtate, "He ſaluted all the people, having his "right-hand conſtantly on his breaſt, bowing firſt to one ſide, and then to the "other; and the people with a *low and reſpectful* voice wiſhed him all happineſs and "proſperity[6]." This form of ſalutation then between equals is what ſuperiors alſo ſometimes uſe to thoſe that are much below them.

[4 When then ſome Commentators tell us *the ten mens taking hold of the* ſkirt *of him that was a Jew*, Zech. 8. 23, is to be conſidered as a geſture of intreating *friendly* aſſiſtance, they ſeem to be under a miſtake: it is rather to be underſtood as an application of a *moſt ſubmiſſive* kind, to be taken under his protection, or received among his dependants. Such an explanation of this geſture perfectly ſuits the interpretation of thoſe, that ſuppoſe theſe words point out thoſe acceſſions to the Jewiſh Church and Nation, under the Aſmonæan Princes, when ſeveral tribes of the Gentile world ſubmitted to be circumciſed, and were incorporated with the Jews. Of theſe the Idumæans were the moſt celebrated; but there were others that thus united themſelves with the Jewiſh nation. Iſ. 3. 6. and 4. 1. are to be explained after the ſame manner.]

[5] Pitts, p. 66. Le Bruyn, Tom. 1. p. 422. Thevenot, p. 30. [6] Part 1. p. 87.

Shaw's

Shaw's account of the Arab compliment, *Peace be unto you*, or common ſalutation, agrees with what has been mentioned; but he farther tells us, that inferiors, out of deference and reſpect, *kiſs* the *feet*, the *knees*, or the *garments* of their ſuperiors [7]; he might have added, or the *hands*; for d'Arvieux tells us, that though the Arab Emir he viſited withdrew his hand when *he* offered to kiſs it, he frequently offered it to people to kiſs when he had a mind to oblige them to do him that homage [8]. They are not, however, expreſſions of equal ſubmiſſion: the kiſſing the *hand* is not only *apparently* leſs lowly than that of the *feet*; but d'Arvieux expreſsly tells us ſo in another paſſage [9], where he ſays, the women that wait on the Arab princeſſes kiſs their hands, when they do them *the favour* not to ſuffer them to kiſs their *feet*, or the *border of their robe*.

Dr. Shaw obſerves, that in theſe reſpects the Arabs were juſt the ſame two or three thouſand years ago as they are now: and ceremonies of the like kind, we may believe, were uſed anciently *among the neighbouring people* too, as they are at this time. So our Lord repreſents a ſervant as falling down at his maſter's *feet* when he had a favour to beg; and an inferior ſervant as paying the ſame compliment to the firſt, who was, it ſeems, a ſervant of an higher claſs, Matt. xviii. 26, 29. In like man-

[7] P. 237. [8] Voy. dans la Pal. p. 8. [9] P. 252.

ner the Evangeliſt Luke tells us, that Jairus fell down at our Lord's *feet*, when he begged he would go and heal his daughter, chap. viii. 41; that St. Peter fell at the *knees* of Jeſus, after the preſent Arab mode, I preſume, chap. v. 8; and he repreſents the woman, troubled with the iſſue of blood, as touching the *hem of his garment*, which, I ſuppoſe, means kiſſing it, Luke viii. 44. The *other* inhabitants of that country, we find, uſed the ſame ceremonies: ſo the Syro-Phenician woman fell at our Lord's *feet*, Mark vii. 25, 26; not to mention the inſtances of remoter antiquity in the Old Teſtament.

It is agreed, that there is ſomething very graceful and noble in the forms of Eaſtern ſalutation [10]; ſome of them however have appeared too low, and expreſſive of too much diſproportion. The *natives of the Weſt* therefore, even when they have been in theſe Eaſtern countries, have not been wont to adopt theſe profound expreſſions of reſpect. So Conon the Athenian, on account of that kind of adoration the kings of Perſia exacted of every one that came into their preſence, which the next citation will explain, declined perſonal converſe with that prince, and choſe to tranſact his buſineſs with him by writing; not, he ſaid, that *he* was *himſelf* unwilling to pay *any kind of honour* to the king, but becauſe he thought it might

[10] See Rauwolff, p. 42. Pococke, vol. 1. p. 182.

be

be a disgrace to the state to which he belonged, if he should rather observe, on this occasion, the usage of those *they* called barbarians, than the forms of his countrymen. [11] They however sometimes seem to have thought these expressions of reverence too great for mortals, at least they sometimes spoke of them in that strain: so Curtius tells us, [12] that Alexander thought the habit and manners of the Macedonian kings unequal to *his greatness*, after the conquest of Asia, and was for being treated according to the modes of Persia, where kings were reverenced *after the manner of the Gods*: he therefore suffered people, in token of their respect, *to lay upon the ground* before him, &c.

This was enough to lead St. Peter to say to Cornelius, a Roman, who received him with a reverence esteemed the lowest and most submissive even in the ceremonious East, and which the *Romans* were wont to speak of as too solemn to be paid to mere men, "Stand up, I myself also am a *man*," Acts x. 26; though Cornelius intended nothing idolatrous, nor did St. Peter suppose he did. In truth, there was something extraordinary in this prostration of Cornelius, but without any thing of idolatry. He was a person of *rank*, St. Peter made *no figure* in civil life, yet Cornelius received him not only with respect, but as his superior; not only as his superior, but with the greatest

[11] Corn. Nep. in Vitâ Con. [12] Lib. 6. c. 6

degree of reverence; not only with the greateſt degree of reverence, according to the uſages of his own nation, but with an expreſſion of veneration, which, though common in the country where Cornelius then reſided, his countrymen were ready to ſay ought to be appropriated to thoſe that were more than men: but it ſeems he felt the greateſt degree of reverence and awe at the ſight of the Apoſtle, and thoſe emotions threw him into the attitude he had frequently ſeen the inhabitants of Syria put themſelves in, when they would expreſs the greateſt reſpect, the rather as the Apoſtle was a native of that country.

The caſe of St. John's throwing himſelf at the feet of the Angel [13], is to be viewed in a ſomewhat different light. St. John did nothing at all but what was *conformable to the uſages of his own country*, when the people of it deſigned *innocently* to expreſs great reverence and gratitude. It is aſtoniſhing then that ſo many learned men ſhould have looked upon it as an idolatrous proſtration. Nothing however is more certain than this fact: and it has been thus underſtood, not only by controverſial writers, when diſputing with heat againſt their antagoniſts; but by the more cool and diſpaſſionate commentators. That they ſhould not at all conſider the Eaſtern uſages, is no wonder, they have been in common moſt unhappily ne-

[13] Rev. 19. 10, and c. 22. 8.

glected;

glected; but the attempt of the Apoſtle to repeat the proſtration, (for he would have done it a ſecond time,) ſufficiently ſhewed, one would imagine, that the Apoſtle did not think the Angel rejected it as an *idolatrous piece of reſpect*. What a ſtrange interpretation muſt that be, which ſuppoſes St. John, a Jew by deſcent, a mortal enemy in conſequence by birth to all idolatry; a zealous preacher againſt it, through a very long life; who finiſhed one of his epiſtles with theſe very words, "Little children, "keep yourſelves from *idols*," as deſirous to have this perpetually fixed on their memories, whatever elſe they forgot; ſhould, *when ſuffering* in Patmos for the Lord Jeſus; and *when bleſſed with the influences of the prophetic ſpirit*; attempt to do an idolatrous action, and to *repeat* that attempt in oppoſition to the checks of his *celeſtial teacher!* Nothing ſure can be more inconceivable. At the ſame time nothing is eaſier than the true interpretation—Smit with veneration for his angelic inſtructor, and full of gratitude towards him for what he had ſhewn him, he fell, *according to the cuſtom of his nation*, at his feet to do him reverence: "See thou do "it not," ſaid the Angel, *it is not to me theſe thanks are due, I have in this been only fulfilling the orders of him who is my Lord as well as yours*; "worſhip God" *therefore, to whom in juſtice you ought to aſcribe theſe illuminations.* Beauteous was this turning away of the An-

gel from him in the Apoſtle's eyes, and from the additional force of this graceful action, as well as from a lively ſenſe, that, though honours are ultimately due to God, as the original author of every good gift, and in particular of intellectual lights [14], yet that it was fit to expreſs a reverence *too* to them that are the inſtruments of conveying them to us, St. John, upon ſome farther revelation of the Angel, would have again thrown himſelf at his feet, but found the Angel perſevering in that moſt amiable and devout modeſty—" Worſhip God."

X. OBSERVATION XV.

Thevenot remarked, in the paſſage I cited under the laſt Obſervation, that the people of Conſtantinople wiſhed the Grand Signior, when he ſaluted them as he rode through their ſtreets, all happineſs and proſperity, with a *low* and reſpectful voice. I do not however apprehend, that this is any proof that the cuſtoms of the Eaſt, with reſpect to the manner of doing perſons honour there, are changed, though we read, that when our Lord entered with ſomething of ſtate into Jeruſalem, they *cried*, " Ho-
" ſanna to the ſon of David: bleſſed be he
" that cometh in the name of the Lord,
" Hoſanna in the higheſt," Matt. xxi. 9; and that when Solomon was brought up

[14] James i. 17.

from

from Gihon, after having received the regal unction, "The people rejoiced with great "joy, ſo that the *earth rent with the ſound of* "*them,*" 1 Kings i. 40; ſince theſe were not the *ſounds of ſalutation*, but the cries of people at ſome diſtance from Solomon, and from our Lord, diſperſedly expreſſing their triumph.

So we find in Maillet, that when there is any rain at Cairo, it is ſo extraordinary, and at the ſame time ſo exquiſitely grateful, that the children run about the ſtreets with *cries of joy* [1]; and that when the only ſon of that magnificent perſon, who was Baſhaw of Ægypt in 1696, was paſſing along in a grand proceſſion, in order to be circumciſed, the way was all ſtrewed with flowers, and the air *rung* with acclamations and cries of joy [2]. This was among a people that would doubtleſs have *ſaluted* a prince as he paſſed along, in the ſame manner in which the people of Conſtantinople ſaluted their Sultan, with a *low and reſpectful voice*. This difference is to be attended to, as it ſerves to determine that what was ſaid when our Lord entered Jeruſalem, was the expreſſion of gratulation and triumph, not a *ſalutation*, or ſpeaking *to* him.

Observation XVI.

[The nobleneſs of Eaſtern ſalutations conſiſts not merely in the attitudes into which

[1] Let. 1. p. 17. [2] Let 10. p. 78.

they put themſelves, but in the expreſſions they make uſe of, which have frequently ſomething very devout, very ſublime in them.

" God be gracious unto thee, my ſon," were the words with which Joſeph received Benjamin, Gen. xliii. 29. *This would have been called through all Europe, and in the living languages of this part of the world, the giving a perſon one's benediction*, ſays Sir J. Chardin in his MS; *but it is a ſimple ſalutation in Aſia, and is there uſed inſtead of thoſe offers and aſſurances of ſervice which it is the cuſtom to make uſe of in the Weſt, in firſt addreſſing or taking leave of an acquaintance. It cannot eaſily be believed how eloquent the people of the Eaſt of all religions are in wiſhing good, and the mercies of God to one another, upon all occaſions, and even thoſe that ſcarce know them to whom they ſpeak; yet at the ſame time they are ſome of the worſt and moſt double-tongued people in the world. It appears from Scripture this has always been their character. One may ſay of them in all ages that which David did, " They bleſs with " their mouth, but they curſe inwardly."*

How noble the expreſſions as well the poſtures of Eaſtern ſalutation! but how unhappy that the tongue and the heart are at ſuch variance! This account, however, explains the ground of the Scripture's ſo often calling the ſalutations and farewells of the Eaſt by the term *bleſſing*.

Observation XVII.

Full of reverence as the Eaſtern addreſſes are, and eſpecially of thoſe to the Great, in ſome points they are not ſo ſcrupulous as we are in the Weſt. An inferior's mentioning himſelf *before he names his ſuperior* is an inſtance of this kind.

Every body knows in how odious a light Cardinal Wolſey's naming himſelf before his King appeared in England, in the ſixteenth century [1]. It was thought the moſt conſummate arrogance; nevertheleſs Sir J. Chardin aſſures us it is cuſtomary, among the Perſians, for the ſpeaker to name himſelf firſt.

He mentions this in one of his MSS, as illuſtrating 1 Sam. xxiv. 12, "The Lord "judge between *me* and *thee*." David ſpoke after this manner to Saul, and that when he treated that prince with great reverence: "David ſtooped with his face to the earth, "and bowed himſelf," ſays the eighth verſe. Gen. xxiii. 15, compared with verſe 6, is another inſtance of it. David's mentioning himſelf firſt then, when ſpeaking to Saul, marks out no inſolence in him; it was on the contrary perfectly agreeable to the modern ceremonial of Eaſtern courts, at leaſt of that of Perſia.]

[1] Ego & Rex meus.

Obser-

XI. OBSERVATION XVIII.

I have been ſuppoſing that the falling down at a perſon's *feet* ſignifies *kiſſing his feet*, which, according to Dr. Shaw, is a way of expreſſing reſpect among the preſent Arabs; but I am not ſure that this is perfectly exact: there is an Eaſtern way of complimenting, not preciſely the ſame though very near a kin to it, which very poſſibly may be referred to in ſome of thoſe paſſages I mentioned. But if it ſhould, it makes no alteration of *importance* in Obſervation XIV; accuracy however requires me to take notice of it. What is more, it is *neceſſary to the explaining ſome other paſſages*.

Pabous, according to d'Herbelot [1], is a Perſian word which ſignifies *kiſſing the feet*, a ceremony very ancient in Perſia, for it was inſtituted by its firſt king, as a mark, not only of the reverence to be paid kings by their ſubjects, but of the taking the oath of fidelity and homage by vaſſal or feudatory princes to their ſovereigns. This ceremony was afterwards *changed* as to *ſubjects of lower rank*, into *kiſſing the ground* in the preſence of their princes: this the Perſians in their language call, Rouizemin, which ſignifies the face to the earth; and that of *kiſſing the feet* was reſerved for ſtrangers, and ſubjects of the higheſt quality.

[1] P. 699.

It ſhould ſeem however that this limited uſe of kiſſing the ground, which d'Herbelot ſpeaks of, did not always continue, ſince he tells us [2], that Mohammed Kothbeddin the Khouarezmian, who ſucceeded his father in the year of our Lord 1199, was inſtalled in the throne of his anceſtors by his great lords, who took the oath of fidelity to him, and paid him *due* homage. This ceremony was called in the Perſian language, which the Khouarezmians made uſe of, boſſi zemin, & roui zemin, that is, kiſſing the earth, and the face to the earth, becauſe, according to the *ancient Perſian cuſtom*, which continues to this day, homage was paid their ſovereign by kiſſing the earth, or touching it with their foreheads in their preſence.

I will not attempt to cite every paſſage of d'Herbelot which makes mention of this ceremony; but I muſt by no means omit a very remarkable account relating to it, [3] in which he deſcribes the behaviour of an Eaſtern prince towards his conqueror. This prince, he ſays, threw himſelf one day on the ground, and kiſſed the prints that his victorious enemy's horſe had made there, reciting ſome verſes in Perſian which he had compoſed, to this effect,

" The mark that the foot of your horſe
" has left upon the duſt, ſerves me
" now for a crown.

[2] P. 609. [3] P. 436.

" The

" The ring which I wear as the badge of
" my ſlavery, is become my richeſt or-
" nament.
" While I ſhall have the happineſs to
" kiſs the duſt of your feet, I ſhall
" think that fortune favours me with
" its tendereſt careſſes, and its ſweeteſt
" kiſſes."

This flattery, it ſeems, was ſo well received by the conqueror, who was a very vain-glorious prince, and fond of adulation, that from that time forward he would always have the unfortunate prince near him; and he ſo well improved that favourable circumſtance as at length to obtain his liberty, and a little after his entire re-eſtabliſhment.

We may ſee, I think, in theſe fragments of oriental hiſtory, that *kiſſing the feet*, and laying *proſtrate in the duſt before a perſon*, are not merely expreſſions of reverence, but alſo, which is not ſo well known, of *vaſſalage*; and kiſſing the earth of the *moſt abject vaſſalage*, ſometimes ariſing from the *low rank* of thoſe that paid the homage, and ſometimes ariſing from *dejectedneſs and adulation*.

When then the Pſalmiſt ſays, Pſ. lxxii. 8, 9, " He ſhall have dominion from ſea to
" ſea, and from the river to the ends of the
" earth;" he marks out extent of empire; when he adds, " they that dwell in the wil-
" derneſs ſhall bow before him," it would be extremely wrong to ſuppoſe, he is only

ſpecify-

ſpecifying one particular part of that extenſive authority he had before expreſſed in general terms, for he greatly enlarges the thought, it is equivalent to ſaying, *the wild Arabs, that the* greateſt *conquerors could never tame,* ſhall bow before him, or become his vaſſals; nay his enemies, and conſequently theſe Arabs, among the reſt, "ſhall lick the "duſt," or court him with the moſt abject ſubmiſſions.

Conquered princes themſelves, we ſee in d'Herbelot, have actually proſtrated themſelves in the duſt before their victors: and therefore the expreſſions of Iſaiah, ch. xlix. 23, "*Kings* ſhall be thy nurſing fathers, and "their *Queens* thy nurſing mothers: *they* "*ſhall bow down to thee with their face to the* "*earth, and lick up the duſt of thy feet,*" are not ſuch an extravagance of Eaſtern rhetoric, as we may poſſibly have been ready to ſuſpect; ſuppoſing that this licking the duſt refers to kings and queens.

That great commentator Grotius[4] ſeems to ſuppoſe that this kiſſing the earth by conquered kings is ſcarcely imaginable. Vitringa reproaches him for it; but Vitringa[5] gives no inſtance of this ſort, which certainly it would have been right for him to have done, in animadverting on an author of ſuch fame. The citations from d'Herbelot may ſupply that defect: to which may be added, that it

[4] In loc. [5] In loc.

is

is common in the Eaſt to treat conquered princes with an inſolence we can ſcarce think credible; and their ſubmiſſions on the other hand are aſtoniſhing. So when Ægypt was ſubdued by the Turks, ſo lately as the year 1517, the ſovereign of that country was hanged over one of the gates of Cairo; and that *brutalities* of much the ſame kind obtained in the remoteſt times of antiquity, may be learnt from Judges i. 7.

Hence ſome things required by the Prophets might be no more than *juſt* ſeverities, and agreeable to the rules of thoſe times, which to us appear ſomewhat aſtoniſhing, ſuch as the death of Agag and of Ben-hadad. The *difference* between their and our laws of war ought ever to be remembered, in explaining the Old Teſtament Scriptures.

XII. Observation XIX.

All the compliments that inferiors make to ſuperiors in the Eaſt are not, however, equally abject with thoſe I have been mentioning. "If," ſays Pitts, "an inferior "comes to pay his reſpects to a ſuperior, "he takes his ſuperior's hand, and kiſſes it, "afterwards putting it to his forehead. "But if the ſuperior be of a condeſcending "temper, he will ſnatch away his hand as "ſoon as the other has touched it; then "the inferior puts his own fingers to his "lips, and afterwards to his forehead; and

"ſome-

" ſometimes the ſuperior will alſo in return " put his hands to his lips [1]."

This explains what I cited from d'Arvieux, under Obſervation XIV, relating to the Emir's withdrawing his hand when he approached to kiſs it; but what is of more importance than this, it gives a clear account of the ground of ſome ancient and modern religious ceremonies. Thus Pitts has alſo told us, that the Mohammedans begin their worſhip with bringing their two thumbs together, and kiſſing them three times, and at every kiſs touching their foreheads with their thumbs. When they cannot kiſs the hand of a ſuperior, they kiſs their own, and put it, it ſeems, to their foreheads; they venerate an unſeen Being, whom they cannot touch, in much the ſame way.

After a like manner the ancient idolaters worſhipped Beings they could not touch: " If I beheld the ſun when it ſhined, or the " moon walking in brightneſs: and my " heart hath been ſecretly enticed, and my " mouth hath kiſſed my hand," ſaid Job, ch. xxxi. 26, 27. That this would have been an idolatrous action, has been *often* remarked; but I do not remember it has been any where obſerved, to have been exactly agreeable to the *civil* expreſſions of reſpect that obtain in the Eaſt.

[1] P. 66.

OBSER-

XIII. OBSERVATION XX.

They kiſs too *what comes from the hand of a ſuperior*. So Dr. Pococke[1], when he deſcribes the Ægyptian compliments, tells us, that upon their *taking* any thing *from the hand* of a ſuperior, or that is *ſent* from ſuch an one, they *kiſs it*, and as the higheſt reſpect put it to their foreheads.

This is not peculiar to thoſe of that country; for the editor of the Ruins of Balbec obſerved, that the Arab Governor of that city reſpectfully applied the Firman of the Grand Seignior to his *forehead*, which was preſented to him when he and his fellow-travellers firſt waited on him, and then *kiſſed it*, declaring himſelf the Sultan's ſlave's ſlave[2].

Is not this what Pharaoh refers to in Gen. xli. 40? *Thou ſhalt be over my houſe, and according unto thy word*, or *on account of thy word, ſhall all my people* KISS, (for ſo it is in the original,) *only in the throne will I be greater than thou:* that is, I imagine, the orders of Joſeph were to be received with the greateſt reſpect by all, and *kiſſed* by the moſt illuſtrious of the princes of Ægypt.

Druſius might well deny the ſenſe that Kimchi and Grotius put on theſe words, *the appointing that all the people ſhould kiſs his mouth*. That would certainly be reckoned in the Weſt; in every part of the earth; as

[1] Travels, vol. 1. p. 182. See alſo p. 113. [2] P. 4.

well as in the ceremonious Eaſt, ſo remarkable for keeping up dignity and ſtate; a moſt ſtrange way of commanding the *ſecond man* in a kingdom to be honoured. It is very ſtrange then that theſe commentators ſhould propoſe ſuch a thought; and the more ſo, as the Hebrew word is well known to ſignify word, or commandment, as well as mouth. As this is apparent from Gen. xlv. 21; ſo alſo that the prepoſition *gnal* often ſignifies according to, or on the account of, is put out of queſtion by that paſſage, as well as by 1 Sam. iv. 13, Ezra x. 9, &c. [3]. Theſe are determinations that eſtabliſh the expoſition I have been giving. *Upon thy commandment*, or when thou ſendeſt out orders, *my people from the higheſt to the loweſt ſhall* KISS, receiving them with the profoundeſt reſpect and obedience.

The Ægyptian tranſlators of the Septuagint ſeem to have underſtood Prov. xxiv. 26. in much the ſame ſenſe, *Lips ſhall kiſs thoſe things that anſwer right words*, ſhall kiſs thoſe writings by which a judge giveth juſt deciſions: and this ſeems to be a much better explanation of the paſſage, than any of the four which Pool has given us from the critics, in his Synopſis. The ſecond, with which our verſion coincides, doth not appear by any means to be juſt. The prefix Lamed ſhould in that caſe have been joined to the word Lips; not to repeat what I ob-

[3] Vide Noldii Conc. in part. *gnal*, 24.

ſerved in the beginning of this article, that nothing can be more diſſonant, not only from Eaſtern cuſtoms, but from *decencies univerſally maintained*, to ſuppoſe that it ſhould be promiſed to a judge, as an honourable reward for the equity of his deciſions, that every party that gained a cauſe ſhould kiſs his lips: no! it ſhould rather be, he ſhall kiſs—the *hem* of his garment, or even the *earth at his feet*. The word *cupit*, (every man *deſires* to kiſs,) is indeed made uſe of in the Synopſis, perhaps to *ſoften* this impropriety; but if ſo, it is uſed in vain, for an inhabitant of the Eaſt would feel no inclination to kiſs the lips of a righteous judge. St. John, who found emotions of veneration, which were ſomething like thoſe theſe people are here ſuppoſed to feel, was not prompted in the leaſt *to kiſs the angel's lips*, the effect they produced in him was *proſtration at the angel's feet*. The fourth interpretation in the Synopſis, which is that of a Jewiſh Rabbi, is one of the moſt childiſh conceits that can be eaſily imagined, namely, that the words of truth tally with each other as lip with lip. The third, that a Judge who pronounces a right deciſion doth a thing as grateful as if every word were a kiſs, is apparently ſtrained. And as to the firſt, it is by no means agreeable to the dignified ſtation of a judge, and of ſuch an one Solomon appears to be ſpeaking, that he that pronounces a juſt ſentence

ſhall

ſhall be admitted, not merely to kiſs the hand, but even the lips, that is, ſhall be admitted into the ſtricteſt friendſhip; unleſs it be underſtood *of the king* for whom he judges, which as it would be degrading to the prince as the other to the judge, ſo neither is it by any means conformable to the preceding words, which expreſs the effects that juſt or unjuſt judgments ſhould have *on the people*. Ver. 23. "Theſe things alſo belong to the wiſe. It is not good to have "reſpect to perſons in judgment. ver. 24. "He that ſaith unto the wicked thou art "righteous," (that is, he that abſolveth the guilty,) "him ſhall the *people* curſe, *nations* "ſhall abhor him. ver. 25. But to them "that rebuke him," (that ſeverely repri-"mand him,) ſhall be delight, and a good "bleſſing ſhall come upon him." *He that giveth a right anſwer* then in the next verſe (the 26th) is apparently the deſcription of *a judge, that pronounces right judgments on thoſe cauſes that are brought before him to try*, and this kiſſing, agreeably to all that precedes, muſt refer to the *people*, the *nation*, not to the *king for whom he judges*. The Septuagint interpretation is much more agreeable therefore than any of the four I have recited—*Men ſhall* kiſs *the righteous decrees of a juſt judge*, according to the Eaſtern forms of expreſſing reverence.

I do not however know whether a more unexceptionable interpretation ſtill may not

be propoſed. The reſcripts of authority are wont to be kiſſed whether they are believed to be juſt or not, except in caſes where perſons aſſume ſomething of independence; nay, the letters of people of figure are treated after this manner by perſons over whom they have no authority, and who know not the contents of them, merely becauſe they are letters of people of figure [4]; it is poſſible therefore theſe words may rather refer to another Eaſtern cuſtom, which d'Arvieux gives an account of in his deſcription of the Arabs of Mount Carmel, who, when they preſent any petition to their Emir for a favour, offer their billets to him with their right-hands, *after having firſt kiſſed the papers* [5]. The Hebrew manner of expreſſion is ſhort, and Proverbs have a *peculiar* ſhortneſs: *Every lip ſhall kiſs, one maketh to return a right anſwer*, that is, every one ſhall be ready to preſent the ſtate of his caſe, *kiſſing it as he delivers it, when* there is a judge whoſe deciſions are celebrated for their being equitable. So another of theſe apophthegms of Solomon is delivered with

[4] So la Roque, in his Syrian travels, tells us, that as he and his companions drew near Balbec, two Arab horſemen accoſted them very roughly; but on being told they had a letter for the Scheik of Balbec, which had been given them, it ſeems, by a Maronite Scheik, with both of which Scheiks theſe Arabs had a good underſtanding, they, after having looked at the letter, lifted it to their heads, and kiſſing it, civilly diſmiſſed them. Tom. 1. p. 94, 95.

[5] Voy. dans la Pal. p. 155.

ſomething

ſomething of the like turn of expreſſion, *A crown of glory the hoary head, in the way of righteouſneſs it ſhall be found:* that is, the hoary head is a crown of glory, *when* it is found in the way of righteouſneſs.

Observation XXI. XIV.

They that are more *intimately* acquainted, or of *equal* age and dignity, *mutually* kiſs the hand, the head, or *ſhoulder* of each other, Dr. Shaw ſays [6].

It is a rule with me not to repeat any of this learned author's *obſervations on Scripture*, as I ſuppoſe my curious readers acquainted with his book; but as he has not applied this obſervation to any paſſage in the Bible, it cannot be amiſs to remark, that thoſe paſſages there, which ſpeak of falling on the neck and kiſſing a perſon, ſeem to have a reference to this Eaſtern way of kiſſing the ſhoulder in an embrace [7].

Observation XXII. XV.

Dr. Shaw takes no notice of their taking hold of the *beard* in order to kiſs, but Thevenot doth [1], ſaying, that among the Turks it is a great affront to take one by the beard, unleſs it be to kiſs him, in which caſe they often do it.

[6] P. 237. [7] Gen. 33. 4, ch. 45. 14, 15, Acts 20. 37, Luke 15. 20. [1] Part 1. p. 30.

Whether he means by kiſſing *him*, kiſſing *his beard*, or not, I do not know; but Joab's taking Amaſa by the beard to kiſs him, 2 Sam. xx. 9, ſeems to be deſigned to expreſs his taking his beard to kiſs it, at leaſt this is agreeable to the cuſtoms of thoſe that now live in that country: for d'Arvieux [2], deſcribing the aſſembling together of ſeveral of the petty Arab princes at an entertainment, telleth us that "All the Emirs came juſt "together a little time after, accompanied "by their friends and attendants, and after "the *uſual* civilities, careſſes, *kiſſings of the* "*beard*, and of the hand, which every one "gave and received according to his rank "and dignity, they ſat down upon mats."

He elſewhere [3] ſpeaks of the women's kiſſing their huſbands [4] beards, and children thoſe of their fathers, and friends reciprocally ſaluting one another in this manner; but the doing it by their *Emirs* more *exactly* anſwers this hiſtory of Joab and Amaſa, and in this ſtooping poſture he could much better ſee to direct the blow, than if he had

[2] Voy. dans la Pal. par la Roque, p. 71. [3] P. 144, 145. [4] The wives in that country are held in ſuch ſubmiſſion, that it is reaſonable to think, their careſſes are mingled with more humiliating marks of reſpect than kiſſing the beard: the Pſalmiſt ſeems to ſuppoſe ſo, when he ſays, (Pſ. xlv. 11,) "So ſhall the king greatly deſire thy beauty: "for he is thy Lord, and worſhip thou him," on which the manuſcript I have ſo often quoted obſerves, *that this alludes to the great reſpect and ſubmiſſion of women towards their huſbands in theſe countries*.

only

only held his beard, and raiſed himſelf to kiſs his face.

OBSERVATION XXIII. XVI.

The indignity, on the other hand, offered to David's ambaſſadors by Hanun, might perhaps be better illuſtrated by what the ſame author tells us of the preſent uſages of the inhabitants of this country, than by thoſe examples that Biſhop Patrick has brought from *more diſtant* nations, and in particular from the *Indians*, and the *Germans*.

It is a greater mark of infamy, he aſſures us, among the Arabs that he viſited, to cut off any one's beard, than whipping and branding with the flower-de-luce among the French [1]. Many people in *that country*, he tells us, *would prefer death to this kind of puniſhment*.

And as they would think it a grievous puniſhment to loſe it, ſo they carry things ſo far as to beg for the ſake of it, "by your "beard, by the life of your beard do." In like manner ſome of their benedictions are, "God preſerve your bleſſed beard, God "pour his bleſſings on your beard." And when they would expreſs their value for a

[1] Mos enim eſt Orientalibus, tam Græcis quam aliis nationibus, *barbas* totâ curâ & omni ſolicitudine nutrire; pro ſummoque probro & majori quæ unquam irrogari poſſit ignomia reputare, ſi vel *unus pilus* quocunque ſibi de caſu barba cum injuria detrahatur, ſays William of Tyre, an Eaſtern archbiſhop, Geſta Dei. p. 802.]

thing, they ſay, " It is worth more than his " beard [2]."

I never had ſo clear an apprehenſion, I muſt confeſs, as after I had read theſe accounts, of the *intended* energy of that thought of Ezekiel, where the inhabitants of Jeruſalem are compared to the hair of the Prophet's head and beard [3]. That paſſage ſeems to ſignify, that though the inhabitants of Jeruſalem had been dear to God as the hair of an eaſtern beard to its owner, yet that they ſhould be taken away and conſumed, one part by peſtilence and famine, another part by the ſword, and the third by the calamities of an exile.

[Niebuhr [4] has given us an account of a modern Arab prince's treating a Perſian envoy, in the ſame manner as Hanun treated the beards of David's ambaſſadors, which brought a powerful Perſian army upon him, in 1765; but it ſeems, he was a very brutal prince, and bore a moſt deteſtable character.]

XVII. OBSERVATION XXIV.

Our Lord reproaches the Phariſee who invited him to eat bread, Luke vii, that he had given him no kiſs, whereas the perſon he had been cenſuring in his heart had not ceaſed *kiſſing his feet* from her entrance into the houſe. It is viſible, by the *contraſt* our

[2] Ch. 7. [3] Ezek. 5. [4] P. 275.

Lord

Lord here ſuppoſes, between the woman's kiſſes and the compliment he had reaſon to expect from the Phariſee, that he did not look for his kiſſing his feet, but for ſome other ſalutation: but what? not the *kiſſes of equality* moſt certainly, but rather that *kiſſing the hand*, which marks out reverence [1], the reverence that is cuſtomarily paid in the Eaſt to thoſe of a ſacred character, and which, contrary to the rules of decorum, he had omitted.

So Norden tells us [2], that a Copti prieſt, whom they carried in their barque from the neighbourhood of Cairo a conſiderable way up the Nile, carried it pretty high, inſomuch that he dared to tell them, more than once, that he could not take them for Chriſtians, ſince not one of their company had offered to *kiſs his hands:* whereas the Copti ran every day *in crouds* round him, to ſhew their reſpect by ſuch marks of ſubmiſſion.

And at Saphet *in Galilee*, where the Jews have a ſort of univerſity, Dr. Pococke ſaw the inferior Rabbies complimenting the chief on the day of Pentecoſt, who was very decently habited in white ſattin, by coming with great reverence and *kiſſing his hand* [3].

[1 This may be thought not very well to agree with a preceding Obſervation, in which kiſſing the hand is ſuppoſed to be a compliment that paſſes between equals: but it is to be remembered, there theſe kiſſes were ſuppoſed to be *mutually* given, and ſuch an exchange marks out equality; here the *perſon reverenced* is deſcribed as receiving a kiſs on his hand, but not as returning it. This is a conſiderable difference.] [2] Part 2. p. 35, 36. [3] V. 2. p. 76.

OBSER-

XVIII. OBSERVATION XXV.

After the ceremonies of reception, it is natural to conſider thoſe poſtures of *longer continuance* by which ſtate or inferiority are expreſſed, for neither the one nor the other are forgotten through the whole viſit, in the Eaſt.

Dr. Pococke, in his firſt volume[1], has given us the *figure* of a perſon half ſitting and half kneeling, that is, kneeling ſo as to reſt the moſt muſcular part of his body on his heels: this he obſerves[2] is the manner in which inferior perſons ſit at this day before great men; and that it is conſidered as a very humble poſture. Agreeably to this he informs us, in his ſecond volume[3], that the attendants of the Engliſh conſul, when he waited on the Caia of the Paſha of Tripoli, ſat in this manner, reſting behind on their hams. Mr. Drummond gives a ſimilar account[4].

In this manner, I ſuppoſe, it was that David *ſat* before the Lord, when he went into the ſanctuary to bleſs him for his promiſe concerning his family. Abarbanel, and ſome Chriſtian expoſitors, ſeem to be perplexed about the word *ſitting* before the Lord[5]; but ſitting, *after this manner*, was expreſſive of the greateſt *humiliation*, and

[1] P. 213. [2] Vol. 1. p. 213, Vol. 2. p. 102. [3] P. 102. [4] P. 199. [5] See Patrick on 2 Sam. 7. 18.

there-

therefore no improper poſture for one that appeared before the ark of God.

Dr. Delany in his Life of king David has given us this thought; I therefore only cite theſe paſſages of Biſhop Pococke farther to illuſtrate, and to confirm it.

Observation XXVI.

[Sitting on a *cuſhion*, is, on the contrary, an expreſſion of honour, and the *preparing a ſeat* for a perſon of diſtinction ſeems to mean, laying things of this kind, on a place where ſuch an one is to ſit.

It is the cuſtom of Aſia, Sir J. Chardin informs us in his MS, *for perſons in common not to go into the ſhops of that country, which are moſtly ſmall, but there are wooden ſeats, on the outſide, where people ſit down, and if it happens to be a man of quality they lay a cuſhion there.* He alſo informs us, *that people of quality cauſe carpets and cuſhions to be carried every where, that they like, in order to repoſe themſelves upon them more agreeably.*

When Job ſpeaks of his *preparing his ſeat*, ch. xxix. 7, it is extremely natural to underſtand him of his ſending his ſervants, to lay *a cuſhion and a carpet* on one of the public ſeats there, or ſomething of that ſort, as Sir John ſuppoſes; but I do not imagine, *a ſeat in the ſtreet* means *a ſeat by a ſhop*. Job is ſpeaking evidently of his ſitting there as a ruler among his people.

Eli's

Eli's ſeat by the way-ſide [1], was a ſeat *adorned*, we may believe, after the ſame manner. He did not ſit in a manner unbecoming *ſo dignified* a perſonage.]

XIX. OBSERVATION XXVII.

Sitting in the corner is, more particularly, a *ſtately attitude*, and expreſſive of ſuperiority.

So Dr. Pococke tells us in the laſt cited place, that at that viſit which the Engliſh conſul made to the Paſha of Tripoli, the Paſha having on the garment of ceremony gave the welcome as he paſſed, and ſat down croſs-legged *in the corner* to the right, having a cuſhion on each ſide, and one over them, behind him. In like manner he tells us in his firſt volume, that when he was introduced to the Sheik of Furſhout, he found him ſitting *in the corner* of his room by a pan of coals. [1] He deſcribes there another Arab Sheik as ſitting *in a corner* of a large green tent, pitched in the middle of an encampment of Arabs; and the Bey of Girge as placed on a ſopha *in the corner*, (to the right as one entered,) of his tent [2].

This is enough to ſatisfy us that the *place of honour* among them is the *corner*, had we not been expreſsly told ſo by other travellers [3], and had not Pococke elſewhere told

[1] 1 Sam. 4. 13. [1] P. 85. [2] Vol. 1. p. 90, and p. 124. [3] Hanway, vol. 3. p. 145, Note; and Ruſſell, if I do not miſremember.

us

us that it is the poſition in which great men *uſually* place themſelves [4]. Other authors have mentioned this circumſtance in general; and it has been ſo univerſal, that Lord Whitworth aſſures us, that among the Ruſſians, (who lately had many Eaſtern cuſtoms among them,) they were wont to place the picture of their guardian-ſaint *in the corner* of their rooms.

May not this circumſtance ſerve to explain a paſſage which has terribly embarraſſed commentators? "As the ſhepherd taketh out "of the mouth of the lion two legs or a "piece of an ear; ſo ſhall the children of "Iſrael be taken out that dwell in Samaria, "in the *corner of a bed*, and in Damaſcus "in a couch [5]." The various remarks of critics on this circumſtance of dwelling in Samaria in the *corner of a bed*, collected by Pool in his Synopſis, only ſerve to ſhew, that none of the authors he conſulted could divine what was meant by it; but the obſerving, that the moſt honourable place of their divans is the corner, gives this eaſy comment on this part of the verſe, that juſt as a ſhepherd is oftentimes able to ſave, from the jaws of a devouring lion, no more than ſome ſmall piece of the ſheep that beaſt had carried off, ſo an adverſary round about the land of Iſrael ſhould ſpoil its palaces, and ſcarce any part of it ſhould be recovered, out of that adverſary's hand, more than the

[4] Vol. 1. p. 179. [5] Amos 3. 12.

city

city that ſits among the cities of Iſrael as *in the corner of a bed*, in the moſt honourable place that is, as Samaria undoubtedly did, being looked upon as the *royal city*.

But to engage the acquieſcence of the mind more perfectly in this explanation, it will be requiſite to ſhew, that the Hebrew word *mittah*, which is here tranſlated bed, may be underſtood of a divan, which is deſcribed by Dr. Ruſſell, as "a part of a room "raiſed above the floor —— ſpread with a "carpet in winter, in ſummer with fine "mats; along the ſides, he ſays, are thick "mattreſſes about three feet wide, covered "commonly with ſcarlet cloth, and large "bolſters of brocade, hard ſtuffed with cot-"ton, are ſet againſt the walls, (or rails, "when ſo ſituated as not to touch the wall,) "for the conveniency of leaning. —— As "they uſe no chairs, it is upon theſe they "ſit, and all their rooms are ſo furniſh-"ed [6]." This deſcription is perfectly conformable to thoſe of other authors, who agree that on theſe they take their repaſts, that on theſe they ſleep, and that they are very capacious. The word *mittah* ſometimes, it is certain, ſignifies a ſmall floored moveable elevation: it doth ſo 2 Sam. iii. 31, where we tranſlate it bier; but nothing makes it neceſſary to ſuppoſe it *always* ſignifies ſuch a ſmall moveable thing, it may, for any thing that appears to the contrary,

[6] Ruſſell, p. 4, Note.

ſignify the ſame ſort of conveniency that is called at Aleppo a divan. They are now uſed with great univerſality through the Eaſt, and we know the people of thoſe countries are very tenacious of old cuſtoms, this therefore, probably, is an ancient one. On the mittah they uſed to ſit to eat, as well as to ſleep, as we learn from 1 Sam. xxviii. 23, Amos vi. 4, Eſth. i. 6, and ch. vii. 8, and the laſt place ſhews, that the ancient Eaſtern mittah was much larger than the beds the old Greeks and Romans uſed in their repaſts, ſince Haman went up, and proſtrated himſelf before queen Eſther, on the mittah where ſhe was ſitting, which it cannot be imagined he would have thought of doing, had the old Eaſtern mittah been like a Greek or Roman bed; he would rather have kneeled on the floor, or proſtrated himſelf upon it, and kiſſed the hem of her robe, which he could not do ſeated as ſhe was near the corner of a large Eaſtern mittah, without going up upon it, which accordingly he did, in order to beg for his life. So Dr. Pococke tells us [8], that not only the Engliſh conſul went up the ſopha, when he went to make a viſit to the Caia of the Paſha at Tripoli, but that thoſe that attended the conſul went up the ſopha too, (which is the ſame thing with what is called a divan at Aleppo,) though they placed themſelves there in the

[8] Vol. 2. p. 102.

humble

humble poſture of kneeling ſo as to reſt on their hams [9].

The ſtately bed on which Aholibah is repreſented as ſitting, Ezek. xxiii. 41, ſeems to mean the floor of an Idol-temple: for on the floors of ſuch places, it appears by another Prophet [10], they uſed to lay down on clothes, or carpets; and the going up to them by ſteps [11] made them very much reſemble the ancient Eaſtern *mittahs*.

Theſe obſervations may be *ſufficient* to give us the meaning of the Prophet in general, when he ſpeaks of Iſrael as dwelling in Samaria, *in the corner of a bed*; and perhaps the explanation of this firſt clauſe may ſerve to lead us into the ſenſe of the other, which our tranſlators have rendered, "in Damaſcus "in a couch," in the body of their verſion, and in the margin, *on the bed's feet*. I cannot ſuppoſe the word in the original is to be conſidered as a proper name, and to be tranſlated Damaſcus, becauſe Iſrael did

[9] La Roque's deſcription of the ſaloon in which he dined with the Scheik of Balbec, may illuſtrate this part of the ſtory of Haman. This ſaloon, he tell us, had a ſofa covered with a Perſian carpet, and had great cuſhions of crimſon velvet, adorned with gold fringe and lace; and another ſofa oppoſite to it, differently ornamented, on which, ſays he, we eat, ſeated on carpets, after the manner of the Eaſtern people. Voy. de Syrie, &c. p. 101. Here were two divans in the ſame apartment; and in like manner, I preſume, there were two where Eſther made her banquet of wine, on one of which the queen ſat, while Haman was on the other, from whence he aroſe, and going up the queen's mittah, threw himſelf at her feet.
[10] Amos ii. 8. [11] Shaw, p. 209.

not,

not, that I know of, dwell in any numbers at Damaſcus, though there was a very good underſtanding between the two kingdoms of Samaria and Damaſcus in thoſe times, to which the prophecy refers, as may be ſeen If. vii. 2. Nor can I by any means admit the marginal tranſlation, the bed's feet, which one would imagine muſt ſignify the very reverſe of the preceding ſentence, and mark out the *loweſt place*.

Pagnin ſuppoſeth the words are to be tranſlated, "and in the corner of a *couch*," and ſo it would be a ſort of repetition of the preceding thought in other terms; but there may be objections to this interpretation. In the mean while it appears moſt natural to me, upon a collation of the paſſages where the word *gnares* occurs, not to underſtand it as ſignifying the *aiminutive of a mittah—a couch*; but *the furniture* of an Eaſtern divan: and ſo where theſe two words are joined together, they are not to be conſidered as an oriental *repetition*, but as an agreeable *diverſification* of the thought. So Pſ. vi. 6, "I "am weary with my groaning, all the night "I make my bed to ſwim (,the divan "on which I am placed): I water my "couch (,or the divan furniture,) with my "tears."

Mattraſſes, or ſomething of that kind, muſt have been uſed without doubt for ſleeping in thoſe times; and it appears from Amos ii. 8, that the Iſraelites uſed

carpets, or ſomething of that ſort, in their feaſts, as the Eaſtern people do now[12]. This

[12] Both ſeem to be referred to Acts 9. 34. "Peter ſaid "unto him, Eneas, Jeſus Chriſt maketh thee whole: "ariſe, and make thy bed," or rather, "ariſe, and pre- "pare for thyſelf," for the reception of company at thy houſe. The words cannot well be underſtood to mean "make thy bed:" was the mercy granted Eneas ſo imperfect, as that he could only ariſe and make his bed, and immediately take to it again? If he recovered *laſting* health, why was he directed to prepare his bed for laying down again? The Eaſtern people now do not keep their beds made; the mattraſſes, &c, are rolled up, carried away, and placed in cupboards till they are wanted at night. The tranſlation of our text by no means agrees with modern oriental uſages, unleſs we ſuppoſe the mercy was only momentary; a thought by no means admiſſible. On the other hand, the Jews of the apoſtolic age ſeem to have prepared their rooms, for the reception of gueſts, by ſpreading them with mats, carpets, or ſomething of that kind: the word uſed by the Evangeliſts, to expreſs the making ready an upper chamber, for the reception of people to eat the Paſſover, Mark 14, 15. and Luke 22. 12, is the ſame with that addreſſed to Eneas, "a large upper "chamber *ſpread* and prepared." They alſo that received mercies ſometimes entertained the Prophets that had healed them, and their attendants: ſo a feaſt was made at Bethany, where Lazarus was, who had been dead, for Jeſus and his Diſciples, John 12. 1, 2. Sometimes they were invited to eat bread, where ſome of the family were ill, and the ſick being healed, did, in ſome caſes, afterward miniſter to them: ſuch were the circumſtances attending the healing of Peter's wife's mother, Mark 1. 29-31. Something like this was the caſe, I apprehend, at Lydda: Peter and thoſe with him were invited to eat bread at the houſe of Eneas. "Ariſe," ſaid the Apoſtle to him upon his entering into the houſe, "ſpread thy houſe thyſelf," for the reception of thy gueſts; and in that view the words are as noble, as, when people were brought from home in a bed, the ſaying to them, "Ariſe, take up thy bed, and "go unto thine houſe." In which addreſs the comparative

This furniture, I preſume, is to be underſtood by the term *gnares*, which we tranſlate couch. Perhaps Deut. iii. 11, where a *gnares* is ſaid to be of *iron*, may be thought to overthrow this; but it doth not appear *to me* to do ſo by any means, the uſing furniture for a mittah full of ſmall pieces of iron, like a coat of mail, may ſurely impreſs the mind with as ſtrong an idea of the martial roughneſs of that gigantic prince, as the having a bedſtead made of iron inſtead of wood, of ivory, or of ſilver.

If this ſenſe of the word *gnares* be admitted, this clauſe, to anſwer the preceding, *muſt* ſignify in general the richeſt furniture of a divan, appropriated to perſons of the greateſt diſtinction.

Nor will there be any great difficulty in the word that is made uſe of, if we ſuppoſe the word Damaſcus may ſignify ſomething made at Damaſcus, and that that city anciently gave its name to ſome of its works, as it has certainly done in later times, ſome of our richeſt ſilks being from thence called damaſks. That the word may ſignify ſome

lightneſs and moveableneſs of Eaſtern beds are pointed out, which, as Sir J. Chardin tells us in his MS. note on Mat. 9. 6, have only a quilt to lay over them, and another under them. Dr. Ruſſell's account, (p. 90,) differs very little. "Their beds conſiſt of a mattreſs laid on the floor, and "over this a ſheet, (in winter a carpet, or ſome ſuch "woollen covering,) the other ſheet being ſowed to the "quilt. A divan cuſhion often ſerves for a pillow and "bolſter."]

coſtly works made at Damaſcus, the learned Caſtalio ſuppoſes, and Gen. xv. 2. ſufficiently proves, where the ſteward of Abraham's houſe is ſaid to be this Damaſcus Eliezer, this man of Damaſcus, that is—Eliezer; if it may ſignify a man of Damaſcus, it may equally, ſure! ſignify a manufacture of Damaſcus. It is certain that the Prophet Ezekiel, who lived not very long after the time of Amos, repreſents Damaſcus as a place of trade, and in particular as trafficking in wine, and what we tranſlate *white wool*, Ezek. xxvii. 18, but which may equally well be underſtood to mean woollen fit for the uſe of nobles. For the word here tranſlated wool appears to be uſed Ezek. xliv. 17. for wool wrought up, or woollen cloth; and the word which is tranſlated white, is uſed but once more in the Old Teſtament, and that is Judges v. 10, "Speak ye that "ride on *white aſſes*, ye that ſit in judg- "ment, &c," where every one ſees that *the riding on white aſſes* is a deſcription of nobles and princes. Theſe aſſes are not, I preſume, called *white* on account of their natural colour, but rather from their *capariſons*, according to the cuſtom which continues among the Arabs to this day[13], who uſe ſaddles

[13] Voy. dans la Pal. p. 127. [Dandini, on the contrary, affirms, that the Eaſtern people ride their horſes without bridle, *ſaddle*, ſtirrup, or ſpurs, an halter ſufficeth them, with a little clout ſpread upon the back of the beaſt, ch. 5. Perhaps the *ſaddling* beaſts for riding, mentioned in many places

ſaddles of wood in riding, and have always, as a part of their riding furniture, a cloth which they call the hiran, about ſix ells long, which they fold up and put upon the wooden ſaddle, in order to ſit with greater eaſe; and which they uſe when they bait, as a ſort of a mattreſs to repoſe themſelves upon.

The reſult of the whole is, that Amos, it ſhould ſeem, is to be underſtood as ſaying, as a ſhepherd ſaves a ſmall portion of a ſheep, or a goat, out of the jaws of a lion, ſo, though the reſt of the country ſhall be miſerably deſtroyed, they ſhall eſcape that ſit [or dwell] in Samaria, in the corner of the divan, on the damaſk mattreſs; the royal and moſt beautified that is of all the cities of Iſrael.

There is another paſſage which may be illuſtrated by the ſame cuſtom, Neh. ix. 22, "Moreover thou gaveſt them kingdoms and "nations, and didſt divide them into cor-"ners." Upon which verſe biſhop Patrick gives us this note, "Some tranſlate the laſt "words, *thou didſt divide them by angles*, that "is, he parted thoſe kingdoms among them "as by a line. But others underſtand it of "the people diſpoſſeſſed by the *Jews*, whom "he drove into corners." I believe moſt people will be diſpoſed to think the firſt thought the Biſhop gives us ſomewhat forced; nor will the ſecond appear very

places in the ſacred writers, may ſometimes mean nothing more than the placing the *hiran* on their backs.]

natural to thoſe that read the original, where the word is in the ſingular, thou didſt divide them *to the corner*, that is according to the explanation I have been giving of that place in Amos, *thou didſt give Sihon and Og into their hands, and the various tribes of the Canaanites; and not only ſo, but didſt give the* pre-eminence *to Iſrael, and make them* chief *among the nations round about them.* It may not perhaps be diſagreeable to add, that the word there tranſlated *divide*, is uſed to expreſs David's appointing the ſons of Aaron to their different charges [14], though a different Engliſh word is uſed in our verſion.

XX. OBSERVATION XXVIII.

At the *cloſe of a viſit* in theſe countries, it is common to *ſprinkle roſe-water*, or ſome other ſweet-ſcented water, on the gueſts, and to *perfume them with aloes-wood*, which is brought laſt, and ſerves as a ſign that it is time for a ſtranger to take his leave.

Great numbers of authors take notice of this part of Eaſtern complaiſance, but ſome are much more particular and diſtinct than others. Maundrell, for inſtance, who gives a moſt entertaining account [1] of the ceremony of burning odours under the chin, does not mention any thing of the ſprinkling ſweet-ſcented waters; however many other writers do, and Dr. Pococke has given us

[14] 1 Chron. 24. 3. [1] P. 30, 31.

the

the figure of the veſſel they make uſe of upon this occaſion, in his firſt volume [2]. They are both then uſed in the Eaſt, but if one is ſpoken of more than the other, it is, I think, the perfuming perſons with this odoriferous ſmoke.

The Scriptures in like manner ſpeak of perfumes as uſed anciently for *civil* purpoſes, as well as ſacred, though they do not mention particulars. "Ointment and perfume "rejoice the heart," Prov. xxvii. 9. Perhaps this word perfume comprehends in it's meaning the waters diſtilled from roſes, and odoriferous flowers, whoſe ſcents in the Eaſt, at leaſt in Ægypt, if Maillet may be admitted to be a judge [3], are much higher and more exquiſitely grateful, than with us; but if thoſe diſtillations ſhould be thought not to have been known ſo early, the burning fragrant things, and the making a ſweet ſmoke with them, we are ſure, they were acquainted with [4], and to that way of perfuming Solomon at leaſt refers [5]. But a paſſage in Daniel makes it requiſite to enter more minutely into this affair, and as at the ſame time it mentions ſome other Eaſtern

[2] Plate 57 R. [3] Let. IX. p. 14. [4] See Exod. 30. 35, 38. [5] Sir J. Chardin tells us in one of the notes of his MS, *it is the conſtant cuſtom of the Eaſt, to have cenſers at their feaſts, and perfumes are much more* common *there than in Europe.* The aſhes or embers of *perfume*, mentioned Tobit 6. 16, and ch. 8. 2, evidently refer to this cuſtom, on which paſſages Sir John has not made any remark.]

forms of doing honour, which I have already taken notice of, but to all which *in this caſe* objections have been made, I will make my remarks upon it in a diſtinct article, which I will place immediately after this, and ſhew how eaſily that little collection of oriental compliments may be accounted for, as well as explain more at large this particular affair of burning odours merely as a *civil* expreſſion of reſpect.

XXI. OBSERVATION XXIX.

The paſſage in Daniel I referred to, which may be explained by this Eaſtern cuſtom, is this, "Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell "upon his face, and *worſhipped* Daniel, and "commanded that they ſhould *offer an ob-* "*lation*, and *ſweet odours* unto him." Chap. ii. 46.

St. Jerome telleth us, that Porphyry objected to this account of Nebuchadnezzar's proſtration before the Prophet: he could not comprehend how it could be true, that an *haughty king* ſhould adore a *captive*; and he reproached Daniel for accepting his oblation and his honours.

This father ſuppoſed that the oblation ſignified a ſacrifice, and the ſweet odours incenſe; but I cannot ſay that he appears to have had his mind embarraſſed with this paſſage, ſo much as with the propoſal made by

[1] In Dan. cap. 2.

the

the ſervant of Saul to his maſter, when he thought of conſulting the Prophet Samuel [2]. I wiſh I could ſay however he had explained it ſo as to be leſs embarraſſing to others; it will be thought, I imagine, by moſt, as difficult a paſſage, at leaſt, and that notwithſtanding *his* comment, in which Jerome ſuppoſes, that Nebuchadnezzar's acknowledgment that the God of Daniel was a God of Gods, and a revealer of ſecrets, was a proof that he offered theſe ſacrifices, and this incenſe, not *ſo much* unto Daniel, as unto God in Daniel, after which, calling Porphyry a calumiator, he diſmiſſes the ſubject, having firſt though, happily enough, remarked with reſpect to the proſtration, that Alexander the Great did the ſame to the Jewiſh high-prieſt.

Later commentators are not much more ſatisfying in their comments than this celebrated ancient. The note of Grotius on the latter part of the verſe being this, " In the " Hebrew it is, he commanded a Mincha " to be offered him, (that is, a cake of " flour, and odours.) He commanded it, " but Daniel did not ſuffer it to be done: " for *univerſal cuſtom* had ſet apart *theſe ho-* " *nours* to God, or to thoſe who were ac- " counted Gods. So Jacchiades, and other " Rabbies comment on the place." And according to this interpretation this paſſage is generally underſtood.

[2] See the firſt Obſervation of this chapter.

But

But there is no neceſſity, I apprehend, of ſuppoſing this an *idolatrous* command. We do not find Daniel rejecting theſe honours, as Paul and Barnabas did thoſe of the inhabitants of Lyſtra. To ſay that he did, though it is not mentioned, is a very licentious way of explaining Scripture. Mr. Maundrell has not applied his obſervations on the modern Eaſtern compliments to this text, as he did to that concerning the ſervant of Saul; but they are, I imagine, as applicable as to the other: and the whole of what Nebuchadnezzar commanded might very poſſibly be of a *civil* nature, and no ways improper to be addreſſed to the Prophet. The making this out is what I would here attempt.

Notwithſtanding univerſal cuſtom had ſet apart theſe honours to God, or thoſe that were accounted Gods, according to Grotius, he himſelf allows the proſtration might not be idolatrous; and ſays, *ſo great* a Prophet was not unworthy *this honour*, citing the example of that captain that Ahaziah ſent the third time to take Elijah. And indeed we have already ſeen, that nothing is more common than this ſort of compliment in thoſe countries, and that without any intention of idolatry, or ſuſpicion of ſuch intention. It is true princes in common received *from* Prophets this token of reſpect, rather than paid it *to* them; nevertheleſs, in ſome extraordinary conjunctures, and this

this was ſuch a one, the reverſe may well be ſuppoſed to have happened. Thus ſacred hiſtory informs us, Saul ſtooped down with his face to the ground, and bowed himſelf when Samuel appeared, 1 Sam. xxviii. 14; and Joſephus telleth us, that Alexander of Macedonia (an heathen prince, as Nebuchadnezzar was, and as haughty as he,) adored the Jewiſh high-prieſt that came to meet him, not as a God, but as an high-prieſt of God. Jerome mentions this action of Alexander's, and ſo far, I think, has ſufficiently diſembarraſſed himſelf from the reproaches of Porphyry.

As to the ſecond particular, though our tranſlators have made uſe of the term *oblation*, yet the original word ſignifies not only a cake of flour offered unto God, but often a *preſent*, and that of very different things, made to mortal men. It is uſed for the preſents in particular made by Jacob to Eſau, Gen. xxxii. 13, &c; by his ſons to Joſeph, Gen. xliii. 11; by Ehud to Eglon, Judg. iii. 15; &c. It is uſed in like manner to ſignify the preſents made to the Prophets of God, where there never has been, nor can be, the leaſt jealouſy in the world of any *idolatrous* deſign; though made by heathen kings, ſuch as Nebuchadnezzar was; ſo it expreſſes the preſent made by the king of Syria to Eliſha, 2 Kings viii. 9. It is by no means neceſſary therefore to underſtand the *preſent* of Nebuchadnezzar of an *idolatrous oblation*,

oblation, or of any thing more than ſuch a gift, as it was becoming a Prophet to receive.

It may, perhaps, be thought an objection to this, that theſe preſents were wont to be made to the Prophets *before* the exerciſe of their office; ſo was that to have been which Saul intended for Samuel, 1 Sam. ix. 7, &c; ſuch was Jeroboam's to Ahijah, 1 Kings xiv. 2, 3; and the king of Syria's to Eliſha, which I this moment mentioned. But this will be no difficulty, when it is obſerved, that a difference is to be made between *going to conſult* a Prophet, and *his coming* to declare ſome future event: in this laſt caſe preſents were made *after* the exerciſe of the prophetic gift. So when the man of God came out of Judah, to cry againſt the altar at Bethel, *after* he had denounced the judgments of God, "The king ſaid unto the man of God, "come home with me, and refreſh thyſelf, "and *I will give thee a reward*," 1 Kings xiii. 7; ſo *after* Jeruſalem was taken, the captain of the guard gave to Jeremiah *victuals and a reward*, Jer. xl. 5. Now it is viſible the caſe of Daniel much more reſembles theſe, than the caſe of thoſe to whom *they applied* to learn future events——"Arioch "brought in Daniel before the king in haſte, "and ſaid thus unto him, I have found a "man of the captives of Judah, that will "make known unto the king the interpre-"tation." Dan. ii. 25.

But

But the third thing is apparently the great difficulty—the offering *ſweet odours* unto the Prophet. This is ſuppoſed to be a thing appropriated to God, or thoſe that were imagined to be Gods. But why is this ſuppoſed? It is certain that odours were often made uſe of in the Eaſt merely for civil purpoſes, and without any idolatrous intention whatſoever. They are ſo ſtill.

And becauſe ſomething may very probably be learnt from their preſent cuſtoms of this ſort, explanatory of this command of Nebuchadnezzar, let us, a little more diſtinctly than we have hitherto done, conſider the various ways in which they make uſe of perfumes, and alſo the ſeveral views they have in making uſe of them.

When Maillet was received by ſome of the chief officers of Ægypt as *conſul of France*, [3] he was regaled with ſweet odours in more ways than one, odoriferous waters being poured out on his hands, and perfumes put upon coals, and the ſmoke of them preſented to him. This is the account he gives of his reception at Alexandria. "After "the uſual compliments they brought me "black water, and afterwards white, (cof-"fee that is, and ſherbet,) to which ſuc-"ceeded ſweetmeats. They after that pre-"ſented me a baſon over which I waſhed "my hands with *odoriferous waters*, which "were poured upon me by an officer of the

[3] Let. 1. p. 6.

" Aga. Laſtly they brought the perfume, " and covered me with a rich cloth, to " make me the better receive it."

This laſt circumſtance is expreſſed with ſo much brevity, that it is really obſcure. Dr. Pococke, who attended an *Engliſh conſul* to Cairo, gives this account of a Turkiſh viſit, in the beginning of his firſt volume [4], which may ſerve to explain Maillet's. According to him then, *the entertainment at theſe viſits conſiſts of a pipe, ſweetmeats, coffee, ſherbet; and at going away roſe-water* [5], *which they ſprinkle on the hands of the gueſt, with which he rubs his face, after which incenſe is brought, which he receives leaning forward, and holding out his garment on each ſide to take the ſmoke.* The rich cloth then that Maillet ſpeaks of,

[4] P. 15. [[5] Haſſelquiſt tells us that the *red roſes* of Egypt, which are common in the gardens, at Roſetta and Damiata, are of *no very ſtrong ſcent*, for which reaſon the water diſtilled from them is of no great value at Cairo; but he gives a very different account of that drawn from the *white*, which are cultivated, he ſays, in conſiderable quantities in the province of Fajhum. The flowers are, it ſeems, of a *pale colour*, not quite white, but rather inclining to red; they are double, being frequently of the ſize of a man's fiſt; and emit the moſt fragrant odour of any he had ſeen. From this ſort, he ſays, an incredible quantity of water is diſtilled every year at Fajhum, and ſold in Ægypt, being exported even to other countries. An Apothecary at Cairo bought yearly 1500 lb. (about 180 gallons), which he cauſed to be brought to the city in copper veſſels lined with wax, ſelling it to great profit in Cairo. The Eaſtern people uſe the water in a luxurious manner, ſprinkling it on the head, face, hands, and clothes of the gueſts they mean to honour, afterwards perfuming them with frankincenſe, wood of aloes, &c. p. 248, &c.]

was,

was, it ſhould ſeem, ſome kind of veil uſed to prevent the too ſpeedy diſſipation of that delicious ſmoke.

The Ægyptians may be thought to be a people more luxurious than their neighbours: perfumes however are uſed in other places of the Eaſt, as we learn from Dr. Ruſſell, whoſe account, as being more particular ſtill, ſhall not be omitted. *Coffee*, he ſays, *made very ſtrong, and without either ſugar or milk, is a refreſhment in high eſteem with every body; and à diſh of it, preceded by a little wet ſweetmeat, (commonly conſerve of red roſes, accidulated with lemon-juice,) and a pipe of tobacco is the uſual entertainment at a viſit. If they have a mind to uſe leſs ceremony, the ſweetmeat is omitted; and if they would ſhew an extraordinary degree of reſpect, they add ſherbet, (ſome ſyrup, chiefly that of lemon, mixed with water,) a ſprinkling of roſe or other ſweet-ſcented water, and perfume with aloes-wood, which is brought laſt, and ſerves as a ſign that it is time for the ſtranger to take his leave.* [6]

Even the *Arabs* preſent a pipe, coffee, ſweetmeats, and *perfumes*, when they are viſited, according to the curious editor of the Ruins of Balbec, [7] and d'Arvieux; [8] who ſpeaks alſo of their pouring odoriferous waters on the face and hair, and who takes particular notice of the wrapping up the

[6] P. 81. [7] P. 4. [8] Voy. dans la Pal. p. 251.

head

head among them in a veil, on the account of the perfume.

[They make uſe too of odoriferous oils. So Haſſelquiſt tells us that the Eyptians put the flowers of the *tuberoſe* into oil, and by this means give the oil a moſt excellent ſmell, ſcarce inferior to oil of *jeſſamine*.[9] In another page [10] he mentions their laying flowers of *jeſſamine*, *narciſſus*, &c, in oil [11], and ſo making an odoriferious ointment, which thoſe who love perfumes apply to the *head*, *noſe*, and *beard*. This indeed ſeems to be the moſt ancient way of uſing perfumes in a liquid form. We have no account in the ſcriptures, at leaſt any clear account, ſo far as I recollect, of the uſing odoriferous waters, but fragrant ointments are frequently referred to. Accordingly it is ſuppoſed by the curious, that the diſtillation of theſe delicious waters is comparatively a modern invention; but the mixing oil and odoriferous ſubſtances together, we know, is as ancient as the days of Moſes; and we find by Haſſelquiſt

[9] P. 288. [10] P. 267. [11] This oil, he tells us, is the oil of Behen, which emits no ſcent or ſmell at all, and therefore he ſuppoſes it very proper for preparing odoriferous ointments and balſams, and that it is on this account much uſed by the inhabitants of the Eaſt. All this is agreeable enough; but when he adds that this undoubtedly was that with which Aaron was anointed, he appears to be extremely miſtaken; the ſcriptures directing the ſacerdotal ointment to be made with oil of olives, Exod. 30. 24: but this is not the only place, where he ſhews himſelf to be a much better naturaliſt than divine.]

continues to be made uſe of ſtill, notwithſtanding the introduction of diſtilled perfumes.]

Sweet odours then are at this day uſed in the Levant, in *different countries*, and among *very different ſorts of people*, and that both in a *liquid form*, and in that of *ſmoke*, and this without the leaſt idolatrous deſign.

Beſides what appears in theſe citations, we find, by *another* paſſage of Dr. Pococke, that it is a mark of importance when perſons are treated with perfumes by the *great*: for deſcribing an Engliſh Conſul's waiting on the Paſha of Tripoli, on the Paſha's return from a journey to meet the Mecca caravan, he ſays that ſweetmeats, coffee, and ſherbet, were brought to all, but the Conſul *alone* was perfumed and incenſed. Whereas when the ſame company waited preſently after on the Caia, or the chief miniſter of the Paſha, they were treated after the ſame manner, except that *all were perfumed and incenſed*. So then if the ſweet odours that were preſented to Daniel, were uſed with the ſame intention that theſe modern odoriferous liquids and ſmoke are, it was diſmiſſing the Prophet with great reſpect; and conſidering the *quality* of the perſon that ordered it, was an high honour done him, but of the civil kind, and without any thing like idolatry; and perhaps was no more than what the new dignity, to which Nebuchadnezzar had raiſed him, made proper.

But if the *burning and ſprinkling perfumes* be ſo common in the Eaſt as a mere civil compliment, how came this notion of the idolatrouſneſs of Nebuchadnezzar's command to be ſo univerſal? How came Maundrell, who ſo happily explained the propoſal of Saul's ſervant to his maſter, to take no notice of this remarkable circumſtance? The laſt is only a proof, that the moſt ingenious travellers have taken little notice of the coincidence between the remaining oriental cuſtoms and paſſages of Scripture, except in very ſtriking caſes. And as to the firſt, writers ſeem to be *ſometimes* ſtrangely diſpoſed to think many innocent uſages of antiquity idolatrous. Thus the writers from whence the Notæ Variorum on Curtius are taken, ſuppoſe the pomp with which Alexander the Great was received into that very city of Babylon, (where Daniel now was,) a few generations after, was idolatrous, and paid to him as a God, without ſufficient reaſon. The pomp, as deſcribed by Curtius [10], conſiſted in ſtrewing flowers and garlands in the way, burning frankincenſe and other odours on each ſide of the places through which he paſſed, making him royal preſents, and ſinging, and playing upon inſtruments before him. Frienſhemius, who was one of theſe writers, ſuppoſeth the *ſinging before him* was idolatrous: though we not only find in Hanway [11] that a conſiderable number of ſingers

[10] Lib. 5. cap. 1. [11] Vol. 1. p. 249, 251.

uſed

uſed to precede Kouli-Khan, the late celebrated Perſian monarch, where an idolatrous intention cannot be imagined; but that the like ſolemnity was in uſe among the Jews, where nothing of this kind is, or can be, ſuſpected, 2 Chron. xx. 21, 28; nay though Curtius expreſsly ſaith in this paſſage, that theſe ſingers were thoſe *that were wont* to ſing the praiſes of their kings. And even as to that burning frankincenſe and other odours, it appears to be no more than doing him *great civil honours*: for as it was cuſtomary for the Perſians to burn odours before their princes, and in times of triumph and joy [12]; ſo Briſſonius [13], (who is celebrated [14] for the accuracy of his obſervations on the cuſtoms of the Perſians,) affirmed that he did not remember to have any where obſerved, that *Perſians uſed incenſe in the worſhip of their Gods*. Nor have the paſſages Savaro [15] produces, it is certain, any force in them, to prove the contrary; the one being this very paſſage of Curtius, and the other a line from a poet who flouriſhed near five hundred years after the birth of our Lord, and therefore no competent witneſs concerning the idolatrous rites of the ancient Perſians.

The pouring out ſweet odours on Daniel, which ſeems to be the import of the words, muſt, ſure! be leſs exceptionable than the

[12] Vide Not. Var. in Q. Curtium, lib. 5. cap. 1. p. 264. [13] Ubi ſupra. [14] Vide Not. Var in Q. Curt. p. 41. [15] P. 264.

burning odours before him. But if they were burnt before him, as it would not now in that country have the leaſt idolatrous appearance; as it would not have had that appearance among the ancient Perſians, if it made, as Briſſonius ſuppoſes, no part of the worſhip of their Gods; as perfumes ſeem to have been uſed ſometimes for mere civil purpoſes, in countries where they entered into the ſolemnities of religion, for Solomon ſays, ointment and perfume rejoice the heart, Prov. xxvii. 9, and Moſes, when he forbids the Iſraelites the making a perfume to ſmell to like that ordered by him to be burnt in the Sanctuary, ſuppoſes perfumes might be, or were ſometimes, burnt for mere ſecular uſes; why ſhould this command of Nebuchadnezzar be imagined to be *idolatrous* [16] ?

To finiſh this article, Nebuchadnezzar appears in all this matter to have conſidered Daniel merely as a Prophet: his words ſtrongly expreſs this, "*Your God* is a God "of Gods," v. 47; and had it been otherwiſe, a perſon ſo zealous as Daniel, who ran the riſque of his life rather than neglect his homage unto his God, and had the courage

[16] An honour of much the ſame kind ſeems to have obtained in the Weſt, which Horace ſpeaks of in one of his Satires, and which appears, by that paſſage, not to have been appropriated to ſuch as the Romans deified, as they did their emperors, but to have been done to obſcure magiſtrates, acknowledged to be mere mortals.

——Inſani ridentes prætextam, & latum clavum, *prunæque batillum*. L. I. S. V.

to

to pray to him, in that dangerous ſituation, with his windows open towards Jeruſalem, would undoubtedly like Paul and Barnabas have rejected theſe odours. To ſuppoſe after all this, that they were idolatrous, will ſeem to me almoſt as perverſe, as to imagine the burning ſweet odours at the death of King Aſa, 2 Chron. xvi. 14, was the *ſolemnity of an Apotheoſis*: but vehemently inclined as the Jews were to idolatry, the deifying their deceaſed kings doth not appear to have been one of their tranſgreſſions.

Observation XXX. XXII.

There was an honour of a *different* kind done to Daniel afterwards, the clothing him with ſcarlet, mentioned Dan. v. 16. 29. We have no cuſtom of this kind: perſons receive favours of various ſorts from princes, but the coming out from their preſence in a different dreſs is not an honour in uſe among us, but it is ſtill practiſed in the Eaſt.

Some doubt however may be made concerning the preciſe intention of this clothing him, whether it was the inveſting him with the dignity of the third ruler of the kingdom, by putting on him the dreſs belonging to that office; or whether it was a diſtinct honour: the modern cuſtoms of the Eaſt not determining this point, becauſe *caffetans*, (or *robes*,) are at this day put on people with both views.

So Norden, ſpeaking of one of the Arab princes of Upper-Ægypt, ſays, that he had received at Girge the *caſſetan* of the Bey, which was the only mark of reſpect they paid there to the Turkiſh government, force deciding between the competitors who ſhould have the dignity, and he that was ſent to Girge being abſolutely to be veſted with the caſſetan by the Bey [1]. But then we find too that theſe caſſetans are given merely as an honour, and not as an enſign of office. La Roque tells us that he himſelf received it at Sidon, and three other attendants on the French Conſul, along with the Conſul himſelf, who upon a particular occaſion waited on Iſhmael the Baſhaw of that place [2]. Agreeably to which Thevenot tells us, he ſaw an Ambaſſador from the Great Mogul come out from an audience he had of the Grand Seignior, with a veſt of cloth of gold upon his back, a caſſetan of which ſort of ſtuff thirty of his retinue alſo had [3]; and in another place [4] that he ſaw one hundred and eight of the retinue of an Ægyptian Bey thus honoured, along with their maſter, by a Baſha of that country.

But if it ſhould be indeterminate, whether this ſcarlet veſtment was merely *the dreſs* belonging to the office with which Daniel was dignified, or a *diſtinct* honour, it is by no means uncertain whether it was put upon

[1] Part 2. p. 96, 97. [2] Voy. de Syr. & du Mont Liban, Tom. 1. p. 15, 16. [3] Part 1. p. 85. [4] P. 236.

him

him or not, ſince theſe caffetans are always in readineſs in the Eaſt, and are wont *immediately* to be put on, contrary to the ſentiment of the learned Mr. Lowth, who ſuppoſes, in his commentary on Dan. v. 29, that though the king thought himſelf bound to perform the promiſe of the 16th verſe, yet that it was *likely it could not take effect*, at that unſeaſonable time of the night; and therefore the words might have been better tranſlated, "Then commanded Belſhazzar "that they *ſhould* clothe Daniel with ſcarlet." This is certainly an unneceſſary refinement.

[I would here take the liberty of annexing a curious paſſage, from Sir J. Chardin's 6th MS volume, to the laſt paragraph, which will abundantly ſhow, how eaſy it is immediately to put a garment on a perſon they intend to honour, anſwerable to that degree of honour they deſign to do him, let it be what it will. After having obſerved that in *Perſia*, and the *Indies*, they not only give a veſtment, but a complete ſuit of clothes when they would do a perſon *more honour than common*, contrary to what is practiſed in *Turkey and China*, he goes on to obſerve, *that theſe preſents of veſtments are only from ſuperiors to inferiors, not from equals to equals, nor from the mean to the great*[5]. *Kings conſtantly give them to Ambaſſadors, Reſidents, and Envoys; and ſend them to Princes who are their tributaries, and pay them homage. They pay great attention to the*

[5] See however the next Obſervation.

quality or merit of thoſe to whom theſe veſtments or habits are given: they are always anſwerable to their rank. Thoſe that are given to their great men have, in like manner, as much difference as there is between the degrees of honour they poſſeſs in the ſtate. The kings of Perſia have great wardrobes, where there are always many hundreds of habits ready, deſigned for preſents, and ſorted. The Intendant of the wardrobe (which they call Kalaat Kone, that is the houſe of Kalaats, that being the name given thoſe veſtments that are made preſents of,) ſends one of them to the perſon the Great Maſter orders, and of that kind the order directs. More than forty taylors are always employed in this houſe. This difference of veſtments, as to the ſtuff they are made of, is not obſerved in Turkey; there they are pretty much alike in point of richneſs, but they give more or fewer, according to the dignity of the perſons to whom they are preſented, or the degree in which they would careſs them: there are Ambaſſadors that have received twenty-five or thirty of them, for themſelves and attendants; and ſeveral are given to one perſon, reſpect being had to the place he holds. In the year 1675, *the king of Perſia having returned anſwer to the agents of the grandſon of Teimuras-Can, the laſt king of Iberia, (who ſolicited his return to court, and was then in Moſcovy,) that he ſhould be welcome, and this young prince having come to the frontiers, his Majeſty ſent one of his officers to bring him to him,* and to defray his expences, *with a very rich preſent,*

in

in which, among other things, were five *complete ſuits of clothes.*]

OBSERVATION XXXI. XXIII.

Preſents of veſtments, on the other hand, are frequently made in theſe countries to the great, and thoſe that are in public ſtations; and they expect that they ſhould.

Thevenot tells us [1], it was a cuſtom in Ægypt, in his time, for the Conſuls of the European nations to ſend the *Baſha* a preſent of ſo many *veſts*, and ſo many beſides to ſome officers, both when a new Baſha came, or a new Conſul entered his office, as were rated at above a thouſand piaſtres. Doth not this laſt account remind us of the preſents that were made to Solomon, by the neighbouring princes, *at ſet times*, part of which, we are expreſsly told, conſiſted of *raiment*? 2 Chron. ix. 24.

[This may be thought not very well to agree with a remark of Sir J. Chardin, mentioned under the laſt Obſervation, *that veſtments are not preſented by inferiors to ſuperiors; or even by an equal to an equal*; but there is really no inconſiſtency: veſtments are not the things that are choſen by thoſe that would make a preſent to the great, in common; but they may be *ordered* to be ſent as a ſort of a tribute, or a due which the ſuperior claims.]

[1] Part 1. p. 253.

The

The other things mentioned in that paſſage of Chronicles, veſſels of ſilver, and veſſels of gold, harneſs and ſpices, horſes and mules, ſtill continue to be thought fit preſents to the great. So Ruſſell tells us, in his account of the Eaſtern viſits [2], that if it is a viſit of ceremony from a Baſhaw or a perſon in power, a *fine horſe*, ſometimes with *furniture*, or ſome ſuch valuable thing, is made a preſent of to him at his departure; and the Baron Fabricius, in his letters concerning Charles XII. of Sweden, tells us, that when he was ſeized at Bender, the houſe being ſet on fire, the rich preſents that had been made him, conſiſting of tents, ſabres, *ſaddles and bridles* adorned with jewels, rich *houſings and harneſſes*, to the value of 200,000 crowns were conſumed. Of the reſt, the veſſels of ſilver and the ſpices may be illuſtrated by that ſtory of d'Herbelot concerning Akhſchid, the commander of an Eaſtern province, who is ſaid to have purchaſed peace of Jezid, general of the troops of one of the Khalifes, by ſending him a preſent *of ſeven hundred thouſand drams of ſilver in ready money; four hundred loads of* ſaffron, *which that country produced in abundance; and four hundred ſlaves, who each of them carried a rich turbant of ſilk in a* ſilver *baſon* [3].

[2] P. 81, 82. [3] P. 487.

OBSER-

Observation XXXII.

[Party-coloured veſtments are alſo eſteemed a mark of honour. Kings daughters were ſo arrayed, 2 Sam. xiii. 18, which ſhows it was a dreſs of dignity.

Dr. Shaw cites this paſſage, and ſuppoſes an account which he had juſt before given, of the dreſs of the preſent African ladies, exactly anſwers it. I ſhould not therefore have taken any notice of this circumſtance in theſe papers, had I not apprehended, that the Doctor's account was not perfectly accurate.

"The virgins," ſays the Doctor, "are "diſtinguiſhed from the matrons, in having "their drawers made of needle-work, ſtriped "ſilk or linen, juſt as *Tamar's* garment is "deſcribed, 2 Sam. xiii. 18."

Two things, I think, are to be remarked here. In the firſt place, her garment of divers colours I ſhould hardly imagine to be her drawers. Would ſhe have rent *that part* of her dreſs as expreſſive of grief? Beſides, we know it is a quite different word which expreſſes drawers, in Exodus xxviii. 42, which paragraph, in a preceding part of it[1], uſes the term that denotes that part of the dreſs of Tamar that was of divers colours, to expreſs a part of the dreſs of the prieſts quite different from their drawers, and which our tranſlators render *coat*.

[1] V. 39, 40.

Secondly,

Secondly, theſe garments were, it ſhould ſeem, of different colours, not by being made of *ſtriped* materials, or by being embroidered, but by having many *pieces* of different colours ſewed together: the original word ſignifying rather ſmall *pieces* than *colours*, of which our tranſlators have given an intimation, in the margin of Gen. xxxvii. 3, explanatory of Joſeph's dreſs, which appears to have been the ſame with Tamar's.

This way of *ornamenting* their dreſs continues ſtill in the Eaſt: Dr. Shaw himſelf mentions it, in the ſame page in which he ſpeaks of Tamar [2]. There he tells us that they wear *ſhirts* of linen, or cotton, or gauze, underneath their tunics. That the ſleeves of theſe ſhirts are wide and open, and that "thoſe, particularly, of the women, "are oftentimes of the richeſt gauze, adorned "with *different-coloured* ribbands, *interchange-* "*ably ſewed* to each other." A garment of this kind, would of courſe be a garment of *divers pieces*, and *divers colours* both.

Observation XXXIII.

Rough as the Eaſtern warriors are, in their manners, they frequently wear very *pompous* veſtments.

Lady Montague deſcribing in her letters the pompous manner, in which ſhe ſaw the Grand Seignor go to moſque, among other attendants ſhe tells us ſhe ſaw "the Aga of

[2] P. 228.

"the

" the Janizaries," which term, it is well-known, ſignifies the general of the *moſt honourable* body of Turkiſh troops, " in a robe " of purple velvet, *lined* with ſilver tiſſue, " his horſe led by two ſlaves richly dreſſed [1]." In another place [2] this very agreeable female writer, obſerving that ancient cuſtoms ſtill very much continue in the Eaſt, tells us that ladies *paſs their time at their looms, embroidering veils and* robes, *ſurrounded by their maids.*

Theſe outer garments, which her ladyſhip calls robes, and Dr. Shaw burnooſes, which he tells us anſwer our cloaks, the Doctor expreſſly tells us ſit very ſtrait about the neck [3]. All which circumſtances put together, furniſh out a very agreeable comment on Judges v. 39, as it lies in our tranſlation: " Have they not ſped? Have they not divi- " ded the prey?—To *Siſera* a prey of *divers* " *colours*, a prey of divers colours of needle- " work (or embroidery of divers colours of " needle-work) on both ſides, meet for the " *necks* of them that take the ſpoil."]

Observation XXXIV. XXIV.

Princes do not only order caffetans to be given to thoſe they would honour, they ſometimes have preſented people with *their own garments.*

So d'Herbelot, I remember, telleth us [1], that when Sultan Selim, the ſon of Bajazet,

[1] Vol. 2. p. 20, 21. [2] P. 44, 45. [3] P. 225. [1] P. 571.

had defeated Canſou Gauri, Sultan of the Mamelukes of Ægypt, he aſſiſted at prayers in a moſque at Aleppo, upon his triumphant return to Conſtantinople, and that the Imam of the moſque, having added at the cloſe of the prayer theſe words, "May God preſerve "Selim Khan, the ſervant and miniſter of "the two ſacred cities of Mecca and Medi-"nah!" the title was *ſo very agreeable* to the Sultan, that *he gave the robe that he had on* to this Imam, and that from that time forward the Ottoman emperors have always uſed it in their letters patent, as kings of Ægypt. Maillet tells us the ſame ſtory [2], but differs as to the place, which, according to him, was Damaſcus; a circumſtance of no conſequence at all as to theſe remarks.

Juſt thus Jonathan *ſtripped himſelf of the robe that was upon him*, and gave it to David, and his *garments*, even to his ſword, and to his bow, and to his girdle, 1 Sam. xviii. 4.

Biſhop Patrick, I am afraid, does not repreſent this ſtory with *due ſimplicity*, when in his comment he tells us, this was done to expreſs the moſt entire and perfect union. "*That he might look like another Jonathan*," are the words of that writer. Without doubt, the celebrated friendſhip between Jonathan and David now commenced; but this *ſtripping himſelf of his robe, and putting it upon David*, was no more than doing an high honour, I apprehend, to an inferior, in the eyes of

[2] Let. 12. p. 153, 154.

the

the ſervants of Saul, according to modern Eaſtern cuſtoms, not intended to make him look *like another Jonathan.* Selim, we are ſure, when he gave *his robe* to a Mohammedan eccleſiaſtic in the year 1519, had no intention to make that eccleſiaſtic look *like another Selim,* or even to declare him the *moſt intimate* of his friends.

The Biſhop's intrepretation ſeems to be the more ſtrange, as ſomething of the like nature has been practiſed by our own princes. I have ſeen a robe of queen Elizabeth, given by her majeſty to one of our cities, and which, I think, its mayors *uſed formerly to wear* on great ſolemnities; but no one will ſuppoſe any thing more was intended by her, than by ſultan Selim when he preſented his robe to the Iman, both ſimply intended to do an honour to thoſe to whom they preſented their robes; nor is there any ground to ſuppoſe Jonathan intended any thing different from them.

XXV.

Observation XXXV.

As the dignity of a prince made the being arrayed in his clothes a mighty honour, ſo it ſhould ſeem it did not allow of a malefactor's *ſetting his eyes upon him.* The majeſty at leaſt of the kings of Perſia did not allow of this, as appears in the caſe of Haman, whoſe face was covered, as ſoon as the courtiers perceived Ahaſuerus looked upon him in that light, Eſt. vii. 8.

Some curious correſpondent examples have been produced from antiquity, and may be met with in Pool's Synopſis; but perhaps it may be amuſing to find this cuſtom ſtill continues, as well as uſeful, more clearly to aſcertain the meaning of covering his face, which has been differently underſtood by learned men.

I ſhall therefore ſet down from Dr. Pococke's travels, [1] the account he gives of an artifice by which an Ægyptian Bey [2] was taken off, which was this. A man being brought before him like a malefactor juſt taken, with his hands behind him as if tied, and *a napkin put over his head,* as malefactors *commonly* have, when he was brought before the Bey ſuddenly ſhot him dead.

Harbonah's covering Haman's face then was the placing him before the king, as a malefactor to hear his doom.

[This ſame circumſtance alſo may be thought to be explanatory of a remarkable clauſe in the prophecies of Ezekiel, who ſpeaks of falſe propheteſſes, as making "*Kerchiefs* "upon the head of every ſtature" (or perſons of all ages) "to hunt ſouls." Ezek. xiii. 18.

It is certain theſe propheteſſes did two very different things, *they ſlew* (in prediction) thoſe that were not to die; and they *ſaved*

[1] Vol. 1. p. 179. [2] The title they give to the greateſt men of that country after the Baſhaw.

the

the ſouls alive that were not to live; v. 19. This making kerchiefs then upon the head may be underſtood in very *contrary* ſenſes.

A very learned and ingenious writer [3] ſuppoſes the word tranſlated Kerchiefs ſignifies *veils*, and the putting them on the head *the keeping people in blindneſs and ignorance*. But I cannot adopt this explanation: becauſe it ſeems to me not to expreſs with *ſufficient ſtrength*, what theſe falſe propheteſſes certainly did, who abſolutely predicted the *very contrary* to what was to happen, and did not content themſeves with *concealing* future events from them; nor, ſecondly, doth it agree with the nature of Eaſtern veils, which though *they keep others in ignorance* who the wearers of them are, by no means hinder thoſe that make uſe of them *from ſeeing whither they are going*—they themſelves can ſee, though they are unſeen.

Shall we on the contrary ſuppoſe this clauſe rather refers to thoſe whom they threatened with death, as they certainly did ſome, at the ſame time that they promiſed others life? They perhaps may be repreſented as covering the heads of thoſe they by their propheſyings *deſtined unto death*; as the head of Haman was covered when he was really in thoſe circumſtances. No commentator, that I know of, has given us this explanation, but it ſeems worthy of *ſome* attention.

[3] Gataker, whoſe ſentiment ſeems to be adopted by Mr. Lowth, in his commentary on Ezek. 13. 18.

I am nevertheleſs *inclined* to underſtand the clauſe in a different ſenſe, and as relating to thoſe whom they flattered into eaſe by their allurements: ſince the *veiling of malefactors* ſeems not well to agree to a *female* character; and ſince an eaſy explanation may be given of the image here made uſe of, underſtanding it as deſcriptive of their *fatal prophetic flatteries*.

The Eaſtern mode of ſitting, ſupported by pillows, which I have had occaſion to mention under a preceding Obſervation, and of which Dr. Ruſſell has given us a print, repreſenting a fine Eaſtern lady repoſing herſelf on one of theſe bolſters or pillows, by leaning with one of her arms on one of them, while ſhe is ſmoking, fully explains one part of this repreſentation of Ezekiel. And when we are told by Dr. Shaw [4] and Lady M. W. Montague [5], that the Eaſtern women bind on their other ornaments for the head with an handkerchief, which the laſt of them calls a rich embroidered handkerchief, we are naturally led to ſuppoſe we have the interpretation of that other clauſe of Ezekiel which we have been conſidering. If the cuſtom be but as ancient as the time of Ezekiel we have no reaſon to doubt of it: for theſe propheteſſes did the ſame thing by their flattering *words*, as would have been beſt expreſſed, if they had thought fit to ſignify the ſame thing by *actions* only,

[4] P. 229. [5] Vol. 2. p. 30.

(as

(as the prophets ſometimes did [6],) by making bolſters for the arms, and preſenting them to the Iſraelitiſh women whom they wanted to aſſure of the continuance of their proſperity; and embroidering handkerchiefs, proper to bind over the ornaments of females in a ſtate of honour, and afterward putting them on their heads. Whereas the true prophets of God gave them to underſtand, in direct contradiction to all this, that if the Jews would not yield up themſelves to the Chaldeans, great numbers of their men ſhould periſh, and their women ſhould be brought down from thoſe elevated places in which they ſat, ſupported by *rich bolſters*, (their divans as Ruſſell calls them,) and ſhould be forced to ſit on the ground; and inſtead of a *rich attire* for their heads, ſhould have their hair miſerably diſhevelled, ſtrongly marking out grief in a deſpairing neglect of their perſons. Such is the deſcription an elder prophet gives of the ſtate of captives, which every one muſt ſee is juſt the reverſe of what theſe falſe propheteſſes are repreſented as doing: "Come *down* and ſit *in the* "*duſt*, O virgin daughter of Babylon, ſit "on the ground: there is no *throne*, O "daughter of the Chaldeans: for thou ſhalt "no more be called *tender and delicate*. Take "the mill-ſtones and grind meal, *uncover* "*thy locks*," &c, Iſ. xlvii. 1, 2.

[6] Iſ. 20. 2—4, Ezek. 24. 16, 17, 22, 23, 24, &c.

This explanation agrees perfectly well with our tranſlation, which makes uſe of the *old Engliſh term Kerchief* here, and, according to this account of matters, doth ſo with very great propriety, it being much better than the word *veils*. It agrees as well with the ſentiment of thoſe that ſuppoſe the original word ſignifies whatever ſerves to bind or faſten a thing on [7]. But neither the one, nor the other, nor Junius [8], who ſuppoſes the word ſignifies *triumphal caps*, ſuch as the Babylonians and Ægyptians were wont to wear, do, by the ſeveral terms they make uſe of, convey to the mind the thought I have been propoſing with clearneſs and preciſion, nor perhaps *intended any thing very like it*.

The threatening of God by Iſaiah, ch. iii. 17, may perhaps ſomewhat confirm the explanation I have been giving: "Therefore "the Lord will ſmite with a ſcab the crown "of the head of the daughter of Zion." It is evident the Prophet is ſpeaking of the painful alterations produced by a being defeated in war, "Thy men ſhall fall by the "ſword, and thy mighty in the war," ver. 25: But what has a *Scab* to do with ſubjection or captivity? If however we obſerve the reſemblance between the word כפח, from

[7] Vide Buxtorfi Epit. Rad. Heb. "Generale nomen, juxta "quoſdam, earum rerum quibus aliquid conſtringitur, & "conjungitur ut adhæreſcat; R. Dav. Kimchi, Pepla; "alii Tiaræ." [8] Apud Poli Syn.

whence

whence the word tranſlated Kerchief is derived, and שספח, which our verſion renders "he will ſmite with a ſcab," on the one hand, being hardly diſtinguiſhable from each other by different ſounds; and reflect, on the other hand, that many nations have been fond of uſing the ſame word, or words very little different from each other in ſound, in oppoſite ſenſes, which they have conſidered as agreeableneſs in writing, and dignified by the names of the Antanaclaſis and the Paronomaſia; we poſſibly may enter into the reaſon of the expreſſion—the daughters of Zion have been wont to adorn their heads with a rich embroidered handkerchief, but the Lord, ſays the Prophet, uſing a term juſt the ſame in ſound, ſhall ſmite their heads with a ſcab, their diſhevelled uncovered hair ſhall be *matted together with filth*, or ſomething of that kind.]

OBSERVATION XXXVI. XXVI.

But beſides theſe methods of doing honour to perſons, which have formed a ſort of regular ſeries, there are ſome others which are not to be forgotten, and which I ſhall give an account of in a more miſcellaneous way.

When, for inſtance, I read Pitt's account of a cavalcade at Algiers, upon a perſon's turning Mohammedan, and which is apparently deſigned to do him, as well as their

law, honour, I cannot forbear thinking of the manner in which Haman *propoſed* to do a perſon honour, and which Mordecai *actually* received. I will not repeat that paſſage of the book of Eſther [1], as the following extract from Pitts will bring it ſufficiently to mind.

" The apoſtate is to get on *horſeback*, on " a ſtately *ſteed*, with a rich ſaddle and fine " trappings: he is alſo *richly habited*, and " hath a turbant on his head but " *nothing of this is to be called his own*; only " there is given him about two or three " yards of broad-cloath, which is laid before " him on the ſaddle. The horſe with him " on his back, is led all round the city " which he is ſeveral hours in doing " The apoſtate is attended with drums, and " other muſic, and twenty or thirty Vekil " Harges, or ſtewards, who, as I told you, " are under the Otho-Baſhees, or ſergeants. " Theſe march in order on each ſide of the " horſe with naked ſwords in their hands " The *cryer* goes before, with a *loud* " *voice* giving thanks to God for the pro- " ſelyte that is made," &c. [2]

Strange as the method may appear *to us* of honouring a perſon by putting veſtments on him *above his degree*, and which it is not deſigned he *ſhould keep*, together with the carrying him thus equipped *about a large town on horſeback*, attended by a *cryer*; yet Africans, we find, concur with Aſiatics in

[1] Ch. 6. 7—9. [2] P. 198, 199.

it.

it. It is no wonder then to find Haman propoſed a thing of this ſort, and that Ahaſuerus eaſily aſſented to it.

OBSERVATION XXXVII. XXVII.

The riding at all *on an horſe* ſeems to be an honourable thing in the Eaſt, ſince Europeans are not in common permitted to do it; the conſuls of France, according to Maillet [1], being the only Frenchmen in Ægypt who are allowed it, the reſt being obliged to ride on aſſes or mules. Dr. Pococke, in like manner, deſcribes the Engliſh conſul as making his entry into Cairo on horſeback, his friends and attendants on aſſes; no Chriſtian, excepting conſuls, being permitted to ride on horſeback in the city [2].

This is not peculiar to Egypt: Maundrell complains of his being obliged, with his company, to ſubmit to this affront at Damaſcus [3]. Not that the aſſes of theſe countries are not agreeable enough to ride on, for they have nothing of that indolence and heavineſs, Maillet ſays, which are natural to ours, and will hold their briſkneſs through the longeſt journies, ſo that ladies ride nothing elſe, and the men chooſe them, rather than horſes, when their circumſtances will permit [4]; but becauſe they are by no means ſo

[1] Let. 1. p. 7, 8. [2] Vol. 1. p. 17. [3] P. 130.
[4] Let. 9. p. 29.

proper as an horſe for times of ſolemnity and ſtate, or at any time for ſuch perſons as would appear with dignity.

Accordingly horſes are uſed to no other motions in the Eaſt than that of walking in ſtate, and running in full career [5]. And for this reaſon, Pococke tells us, the Chous of the Janizaries (at Cairo) always goes on an aſs for greater ſpeed, thoſe creatures pacing along very faſt; whereas it is *contrary to the Turkiſh dignity* to go, on an horſe, faſter than a foot-pace in the ſtreets [6]. Riding on horſe-back is, in the Levant, accounted an honourable thing, and they ride them accordingly in a very ſtately manner.

And indeed this has ſo ſtruck ſome of our Weſtern travellers, Dr. Ruſſell in particular [7], that they have frankly confeſſed, that a great man of the Eaſt riding on horſeback, and attended by his ſervants, has appeared much more ſtately and dignified to them, than one of ours doth in his coach loaded with footmen. And, in truth, the people of theſe countries muſt be allowed to be moſt exquiſite connoiſſeurs, as to every attitude and every circumſtance that ſerves to ennoble the appearance of a perſon, and render it ſtately and majeſtic.

The Prophet Zechariah ſeems accordingly to have ſuppoſed this ſort of ſenſibility, when he deſcribes the coming of the Meſſiah to

[5] Shaw, p. 166. [6] Vol. 1. p. 191. [7] See page 89 of his book.

Zion

Zion as *meek and lowly*, becauſe he was to make his entry on an aſs.

For this attaching of ſtatelineſs and dignity to the riding on an horſe, obtained in Judæa before the times of Zechariah, though it had not been always ſo in that country, the greateſt perſonages, and on the moſt ſolemn occaſions too, riding there in more ancient times on aſſes and mules[8]. It ſeems to have begun in the reign of Solomon, in whoſe days we are told many horſes were fetched out of Ægypt[9], and who apparently touches upon the pomp, ſuppoſed to be in riding on horſes, in his writings. (Eccleſ. x. 7.) I have already[10] taken ſome notice of this paſſage; but Ruſſell's account of *perſons of condition* riding on *horſeback*, with a number of *ſervants walking* before them, is a much more perfect illuſtration of a paſſage which ſpeaks of thoſe that ride as *riding on horſes*. I have ſeen ſervants *riding in ſtate*, was the thought of the wiſe-man, while perſons of great birth, in countries where dignity is kept up with the niceſt care, he had ſeen *walking like ſervants* before thoſe that rode.

To the *ſplendor* alſo of this *attendance*, he refers without doubt in part, in thoſe words, "I got me ſervants," Eccleſ. ii. 7.

[8] See Judges 10. 4, 2 Sam. 18. 9, 1 Kings 1. 33.
[9] 1 Kings 10. 28, before which time there were few or no horſes in Judæa. [10] Ch. v. Obſ. 12.

XXVIII. OBSERVATION XXXVIII.

We are told in a book, which gives an account of the ſufferings of the crew of an Engliſh privateer, ſhipwrecked on the African coaſt in 1745-6 [1], and which occaſionally mentions the education of their children, and their getting the Koran by heart, that "when they have gone through, their re-"lations borrow a fine horſe and furniture, "and *carry them about the town in proceſſion*, "with the book in their hands, the *reſt of* "*their companions* following, and all *ſorts of* "*muſic* of the country going before."

Dr. Shaw mentions the ſame cuſtom [2], adding the *acclamations* of the ſchool-boys, but taking no notice of the *muſic*. We have no reaſon, however, to doubt the fact on the account of the Doctor's ſilence, eſpecially as it relates to another part of Barbary, and as it is given us by thoſe that reſided ſome years in that country.

Shaw makes no uſe of this circumſtance relating to the education of youth in Barbary; but I confeſs, the account that the privateer's people have given of this proceſſion, ſeems to me to be a lively comment on that ancient Jewiſh proceſſion, mentioned 1 Sam. x. 5, 6, "Thou ſhalt meet a "*company of prophets* coming down from the "high-place, with a *pſaltery*, and a *tabret*,

[1] Barbarian Cruelty, Appendix, p. 52. [2] P. 195.

"and

" and a *pipe*, and an *harp before them*, and " they ſhall *propheſy*. And the ſpirit of the " Lord will come upon thee, and thou ſhalt " propheſy with them, and ſhalt be turned " into another man." That the word Prophets oftentimes ſignifies *ſons* or *ſcholars* of the prophets, and propheſying, *ſinging*, have been often remarked; but no author, that I know of, has given any account of the *nature of this proceſſion*, and what it was deſigned for. We are ſometimes told, high-places were uſed for ſacrifices; and in one caſe, muſic, it is certain, went playing before them when they went up to worſhip, Iſ. xxx. 29; but did they alſo return from ſacrificing with it? We are told that muſic was made uſe of by the prophets to calm and compoſe them, and invite the divine influences; which is indeed very true, but is it to the purpoſe? Did they go forth in this manner *from their college*, into the *noiſe and interruptions of the world*, to call down the prophetic impulſe? But if we conſider them as a company of the *ſons of the prophets*, going in proceſſion with *ſongs of praiſe*, and *muſic* playing before them, and recollect that it is uſual at this day for *young ſcholars* to go in proceſſion with *acclamations*, and *muſic* playing before them, the whole myſtery ſeems to be unravelled. To which may be added, that Saul was to meet them, and find himſelf turned into another man, into a man, perhaps, that is inſtantaneouſly made as know-

ing in the law of God, as the youth to whom they were doing theſe honours, or any of his convoy; which acquaintance with the laws of God was very neceſſary, for one that was to judge among his brethren as their king. For this reaſon, the Jewiſh kings were to write out a copy of the law of God, and read in it continually, that they might be *perfect maſters* of it, Deut. xvii. 18—20; which accompliſhment ſome youth had gained whom Saul met with, and was honoured with the ſolemnity the ſacred hiſtorian ſpeaks of, if the cuſtoms of South-Barbary may be ſuppoſed to be explanatory of thoſe of Judæa.

XXIX. OBSERVATION XXXIX.

When the Conſul whom Dr. Pococke attended entered Cairo, the Doctor tells us, that, "according to *an ancient cuſtom of* "*ſtate*, a man went before and ſprinkled "water on the ground to lay the duſt[1].

Every one knows the *convenience* of this practice in hot and dry countries; but I do not remember to have met with it mentioned any where elſe *as an Eaſtern way of doing honour:* but if the Doctor is right here, if it was not barely a thing thought at that time *convenient*, but an *ancient cuſtom of ſtate*, the ſame cauſes might occaſion it to be uſed in other countries; and if it had been uſed in

[1] Vol. I. p. 17.

Judæa

Judæa before the time of David, in the days of the Judges and of Saul, it will explain Shimei's behaviour, and give it great energy, who, in direct oppoſition to it, threw ſtones, and duſted him with duſt in the day of that prince's affliction [2]. He had been wont to be honoured by having people go before him to take care that the ground ſhould be moiſtened, and no duſt raiſed where he was to paſs; Shimei did the reverſe.

This honour is not however confined to royalty; an Engliſh Conſul was thus treated: private perſons were alſo thus diſhonoured, for the Jews clamoured againſt St. Paul in the temple, and threw duſt, Acts xxii. 23.

[An obſervation Sir John Chardin has made, in his MS. note on Job ii. 12, gives a ſomewhat different turn to our apprehenſions of the behaviour of Shimei, and of the Jews in the temple towards St. Paul: he ſays, *that in almoſt all the Eaſt, thoſe who accuſe* a criminal, *or demand juſtice againſt him, throw duſt upon him, as much as to ſay, He deſerves to be put under ground; and that it is a common imprecation of the Turks and Perſians, Be covered with earth, Earth be upon thy head; as we are ready to ſay, I wiſh you four feet under ground.* The Jews certainly thought St. Paul deſerved to die; and Shimei might deſign to declare, by what he did, that David was unworthy to live.

[2] 2 Sam. 16. 13, marg.

I muſt

I muſt leave it to my reader to determine which ſentiment is moſt natural.]

XXX. OBSERVATION XL.

When d'Arvieux was in the camp of the Great Emir, his princeſs was viſited by other Arab princeſſes. The laſt that came, whoſe viſit alone he deſcribes, was mounted, he ſays, on a camel, covered with a carpet, and decked with flowers: a dozen women marched in a row before her, holding the camel's halter with one hand; they ſung the praiſes of their miſtreſs, and ſongs which expreſſed joy, and the happineſs of being in the ſervice of ſuch a beautiful and amiable lady. Thoſe which went firſt, and were more diſtant from her perſon, came in their turn to the head of the camel, and took hold of the halter; which place, as being the poſt of honour, they quitted to others, when the princeſs had gone a few paces. The Emir's wife ſent her women to meet her, to whom the halter was entirely quitted, out of reſpect, her own women putting themſelves behind the camel; in this order they marched to the tent where ſhe alighted. They then all ſung together the beauty, birth, and good qualities of this princeſs[1].

Doth not this account illuſtrate a paſſage[2] of the Prophet Nahum, where he ſpeaks of

[1] Voy. dans la Pal. p. 249. [2] Ch. 2. 7.

the

the preſenting the queen of Nineveh, or Nineveh itſelf under the figure of a queen, to her conqueror? He deſcribes her as *led by her maids*, with the voice of doves, with the *voice of mourning* that is; their wonted ſongs of joy with which they uſed to lead her along, as the Arab women did their princeſs, being turned into lamentations.

That the Prophet is ſpeaking of the preſenting Huzzab to her conqueror, is viſible from the word brought up, "Huzzab ſhall "be led away captive, *ſhe ſhall be brought* "*up*," which is the ſame word in the original, as well as in our verſion, which is uſed for the conducting Zedekiah to the place where his conqueror *held his court*, 2 Kings xxv. 6, Jer. xxxix. 5.

Nor were *former diſtinctions* altogether loſt in captivity, "Thou ſhalt not eſcape out of "his hand," ſaid Jeremiah to Zedekiah, "thou ſhalt ſurely be taken and delivered "into his hand. But thou ſhalt die "in peace, and *with the burnings of thy fa-* "*thers*, the former kings which were before "thee: ſo ſhall they burn odours for thee, "and they will lament thee, ſaying, Ah "Lord!" Jer. xxxiv. 3, 5. Though Zedekiah was to die a captive, yet ſome diſtinctions of royalty were to be paid him in captivity: ſo Huzzab was to be led by her maids into the preſence of her conqueror, as princeſſes were uſually led, but with the

voice

voice of lamentation inſtead of the voice of joy.

Mr. Lowth, in his Commentary, ſuppoſes this paſſage of Nahum deſcribes Huzzab as a great princeſs, attended by her maids of honour, bewailing her and their condition; but neither has he, nor any other commentator that I know of, entered into the force of the expreſſion, "her maids ſhall *lead her*," any more than of the term *brought up*.

XXXI. OBSERVATION XLI.

The women of the Arab princeſs led her camel ſinging. This is not peculiar to the Eaſtern *princeſſes*. Hanway tells us, that Nadir Shah [1], when he removed his camp, was preceded by his running-footmen, and theſe by his *chanters*, who were nine hundred in number, and frequently chanted *moral ſentences*, and encomiums on the Shah, occaſionally proclaiming his victories alſo [2].

[The like practice, it ſeems, obtained among the inhabitants of Mount Libanus, in the time of Pope Clement VIII; for Dandini, the Pope's Nuncio to the Maronites, ſays, "We were always accompa-
"nied with the *better ſort* of people, who
"*walked on foot* before our mules, and out
"of the reſpect they bore to the Pope, and
"in honour to us, they would ſing certain

[1] Kouli Khan, as we commonly called him. [2] Vol. I. p. 249, 251.

" ſongs, and ſpiritual airs, which they " uſually ſung as they marched *before the* " *patriarch, and other perſons of quality* [3]."
It was not confined, according to this account, to mean perſons; but perſons of figure went before him in proceſſion with ſongs.]

We are willing to ſuppoſe, that Elijah's running before Ahab's chariot to the gates of Jezreel [4] was not *unworthy his prophetic character*; but as the idea of the mob's running before a royal coach will preſent itſelf to ſome minds, when they read this paſſage, ſo commentators are not very happy in explaining this piece of the hiſtory of Elijah. Biſhop Patrick ſuppoſes he ran before Ahab *like one of his footmen*, in which he ſhewed his *readineſs to do the king all imaginable honour*, and that he was *far from being his enemy*: would it however have *become* Becket, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to have run before the horſe of Henry II, to ſhew he was not his enemy? or even Friar Peito before Henry VIII, to do him all imaginable honour?

But if Ahab had chanters running before him, like Nadir Shah, it doth not appear at all contrary to the rules of decorum, for one brought up to celebrate the divine praiſes, to put himſelf at the head of them, to direct them, in ſinging praiſe to him that was then giving them rain, and to intermingle due

[3] Ch. 17. p. 68. [4] 1 Kings 18. 46.

encomiums on the prince that had permitted the extermination of the Prieſts of Baal; or if *he* had none ſuch, yet if it had been practiſed in thoſe times, and was thought graceful and becoming a prince, nothing forbad Elijah's doing it alone: and perhaps what is ſaid concerning the fingers of the contemporary king of Judah, 2 Chron. xx. 21, 22, may enable us to gueſs, whether or no it was a practice totally unknown at that time. The expreſſion of the divine hiſtorian, that *the hand of the Lord was upon him*, perfectly agrees to this thought; for it appears, from 2 Kings iii. 15, that it ſignifies enabling a Prophet to prophecy: and conſequently we are rather to underſtand theſe words, of God's ſtirring him up to the compoſing [5], and ſinging, of ſome proper hymns on this occaſion, than the mere enabling him to run with greater ſwiftneſs than *his age* would otherwiſe have permitted him to do, in which ſenſe alone, I think, commentators have underſtood that clauſe.

Observation XLII.

[The Eaſtern *dances*, with which the great in thoſe countries have been ſometimes honoured, are *extemporaneous*, if I may be indulged the expreſſion, as well as their ſongs.

I have elſewhere taken notice of the extemporaneouſneſs of their ſongs; and I will here ſet down a paſſage, from the letters of

[5] See Chap. 5. Obſ. 7.

Lady

Lady Wortley Montague, which ſhews their dances are equally free. "Their manner of "dancing is certainly the ſame that *Diana* "is ſung to have danced on the banks of "Eurotas. The great lady ſtill leads the "dance, and is followed by a troop of "young girls, *who imitate her ſteps*, and, if "ſhe ſings, make up the chorus. The "tunes are extremely gay and lively, yet "with ſomething in them wonderfully ſoft. "The ſteps are varied *according to the plea-* "*ſure of her that leads the dance*, but al- "ways in exact time, and infinitely more "agreeable than any of our dances, at leaſt "in my opinion. I ſometimes make one in "the train, but am not ſkilful enough to "lead. Theſe are the *Grecian* dances, the "Turkiſh being very different [1]."

This gives us a different apprehenſion of the meaning of the words in Exod. xv. 20, than we ſhould otherwiſe form: "Miriam "the Propheteſs, the ſiſter of Aaron, took "a timbrel in her hand, and all the women "went out *after her*, with timbrels and "dances." She led the dance; they imitated her ſteps, which were not conducted by a ſet well-known form, as with us, but extemporaneous. Probably David did not dance alone before the Lord, when the ark was removed, but led the dance in the ſame authoritative kind of way [2].

[1] Vol. 2. p. 45, 46. [2] 2 Sam. 6. 14, 15.

Lady Montague was ſo ſtruck with this Eaſtern management, that though ſhe cites *Homer*, and tells us theſe were *Grecian* dances, yet ſhe could not help obſerving too, that theſe Eaſtern manners give great light into paſſages of Scripture.]

XXXII. OBSERVATION XLIII.

The *alighting* of thoſe that ride is conſidered in the Eaſt as an expreſſion of *deep reſpect*: ſo Dr. Pococke tells us, that they are wont to deſcend from their aſſes in Ægypt, when they come near ſome tombs there, and that Chriſtians and Jews are obliged to ſubmit to this [1].

[So Haſſelquiſt tells Linnæus, in one of his letters to him, that Chriſtians were obliged to alight from their aſſes in Ægypt, when they met with commanders of the ſoldiers there [2]. This he complains of as a bitter indignity; but they that received the compliment, without doubt, required it as a moſt pleaſing piece of reſpect.]

Achſah's and Abigail's alighting [3] were without doubt then intended as expreſſions of reverence; but is it to be imagined, that Naaman's alighting from his chariot [4], when Gehazi ran after him, aroſe from the ſame principle? If it did, there was a mighty change in this haughty Syrian after

[1] Vol. 1. p. 35. [2] P. 425. [3] Judg. 1. 14. 1 Sam. 25. 23. [4] 2 Kings 5. 21.

his cure. That *he* ſhould pay ſuch a reverence to a ſervant of the Prophet muſt appear very ſurprizing, yet we can hardly think the hiſtorian would have mentioned this circumſtance *ſo very diſtinctly* in any other view.

Rebecca's alighting from the camel on which ſhe rode, when Iſaac came to meet her, is by no means any proof that the conſidering this as an expreſſion of reverence is a modern thing in the Eaſt; it, on the contrary, ſtrongly reminds one of d'Arvieux's account, of a bride's *throwing herſelf at the feet of the bridegroom* when ſolemnly preſented to him, which obtains among the Arabs [5].

Observation XLIV. XXXIII.

It is reckoned in the Eaſt, according to Dr. Pococke [1], a mark of reſpect often *to change their garments*, in the time of a viſit for a night or two. He expreſſes himſelf however with obſcurity, and ſome uncertainty; but it is made certain by the accounts of other travellers, that it is a matter of ſtate and magnificence.

So Thevenot tells us, that when he ſaw the Grand Seignior go to the new moſque, he was clad in a ſattin doliman of a fleſh colour, and a veſt of almoſt the ſame co-

[5] Voy. dans la Pal. p. 225. [1] See his account of their diet and viſits, vol. 1. p. 182, &c.

lour; but when he had ſaid his prayers there he changed his veſt, and put on one of a particular kind of green [2]. At another time he went to the moſque in a veſt of crimſon velvet, but returned in one of a fire-red ſattin [3].

To this frequent change of veſtments among the great poſſibly the Pſalmiſt alludes, when ſpeaking of the Lord of all, he ſays, the heavens, unchangeable as they are when compared with the productions of the earth, ſhall periſh, while he ſhall remain; yea, they ſhall be laid aſide, in compariſon of his immortality, as ſoon as a garment grows old; or rather, this change which they ſhall undergo, ſhall come on *more ſpeedily*, with reſpect to his eternity, than the laying aſide of a veſtment which kings and princes change often in a day. The changing of clothes is a piece of Eaſtern magnificence: how wonderfully ſublime then, in this view, is this repreſentation of the grandeur of God, *Thou* ſhalt change theſe heavens as a prince changes his veſture!

Observation XLV.

[The putting on *new clothes* is alſo thought, by the people of the Eaſt, to be very requiſite for the due ſolemnization of a time of rejoicing, and indeed almoſt neceſſary.

[2] Part 1. p. 86. [3] P. 87.

The

The Khalife Moſtanſer Billah, going up one day to one of the higheſt parts of his palace, according to d'Herbelot, *ſaw the greateſt parts of the flat-roofs of the houſes of Bagdet, his capital, ſpread with clothes of different kinds, and being told by his Vizir, upon his aſking the reaſon of it, that the inhabitants of Bagdet were drying their clothes, which they had newly waſhed on the account of the approach of the Beiram, which is a very ſolemn Mohammedan* feſtival, *Moſtanſer was ſo concerned, that they were ſo poor as to be obliged to waſh their old clothes,* for want of new ones, *with which to celebrate this feſtival, that he ordered a great quantity of gold to be inſtantly made into bullets, proper to be ſhot out of croſs-bows, which he and his courtiers threw, by this means, upon every terrace of the city where he ſaw their garments laid a drying*[1]. Agreeably to this Haſſelquiſt tells us,[2] "the "Turks, even the pooreſt of them, muſt "*abſolutely* have *new clothes* at their Beiram[3]."

New clothes then were thought very neceſſary for the ſolemnization of a ſtated Eaſtern feſtival. It will appear, in the ſequel, that thoſe that are occaſional were obſerved in the ſame manner.

Commentators have taken notice, that the *rending* mentioned by Solomon, Eccleſ. iii. 7, refers to the Oriental modes of expreſſing

[1] P. 632. [2] P. 400. [3] A great feſtival with them, anſwering our Eaſter, for it follows their month of faſting.

ſorrow; but they ſeem to think, that the *ſewing* ſignifies nothing more than the *terminating*, perhaps nothing more than the *abating* affliction. Maimonides is quoted on this occaſion, as ſaying, *He that mourns for a father, &c, let him ſtitch up the rent of his garment at the end of thirty days, but never let him ſew it up well.* As the other caſes, however, are as *directly oppoſite* as poſſible, is it not more probable, that a *ſeaſon of joy* is here meant, in contraſt to a *time of bitter grief*, than merely of ſome *abatement* of diſtreſs? And that by a *time of ſewing* is meant *a time of making up new veſtments*, rather than a ſlight tacking together the places of their clothes, which were torn in the paroxyſm of their grief?

Thus when Jacob ſuppoſed he had loſt his ſon Joſeph, he *rent his clothes* for grief, Gen. xxxvii. 34; while the time of preparing for the circumciſion of the ſon of Iſhmael, the Baſhaw of Ægypt when Maillet lived there, muſt have been a time of great *ſewing*. For the rejoicing on that occaſion laſted, it ſeems, *ten days, and on the firſt day of the ceremony the whole houſehold of the Baſhaw appeared in new clothes*[4], *and were very richly dreſſed. Two veſts of different coloured ſatin had been given to every one of his domeſtics, one of Engliſh cloth, with breeches of the ſame, and a lining of fur of a Moſcovite fox. The meaneſt ſlave was dreſſed after this ſort with*

[4] Deſcript. de l'Egypte, Lett. 10.

a turbant,

a turbant, of which the cap was of velvet, or Engliſh cloth, and the other part adorned with gold. The pages had large breeches of green velvet, and ſhort veſts of gold brocade. Thoſe of higher rank were more richly dreſſed; and there was not one of them but changed his dreſs two or three times during the ſolemnity. Ibrahim, the young Lord that was to be circumciſed, appeared on the morning of the firſt day, cloathed in an half-veſt of white cloth, lined with a rich fur, over a doliman of Venetian cloth of gold, and over this half-veſt he wore a robe of fire-coloured camblet, lined with a green tabby. This veſt, or quiriqni, was embroidered with pearls of a large ſize, and faſtened before with a claſp of large diamonds. Through all the time the ſolemnity laſted, Ibrahim changed his dreſs three or four times a day, and never wore the ſame thing twice, excepting the quiriqni with its pearls, which he put on three or four times.—I need not go on with Maillet's account; it is ſufficiently evident, that the time of preparing for this rejoicing was a *time of ſewing*. To the Patriarch Jacob it was a *time of rending*, when he apprehended his ſon was dead; to the Baſhaw Iſhmael, the circumciſion of his ſon was a *time of ſewing*, for that ſolemnity gives Eaſtern parents exquiſite joy, and the making up great quantities of clothes is one of the methods they make uſe of to expreſs that joy.

OBSER-

Observation XLVI.

Brides alſo in the Eaſt frequently change their dreſs, and upon ſuch a change are preſented anew each time to the bridegroom.

This is d'Arvieux's account of the Arabs: *When the evening is come, the women* preſent *the bride to her future huſband. The women who conduct her make him a compliment, who anſwers not a word, ſitting perfectly ſtill, with a grave and ſerious air. This ceremony is three times repeated the ſame evening,* and whenever they change the bride's dreſs, they preſent her to the bridegroom, *who receives her always with the ſame gravity. It is a ſort of magnificence in the Eaſt frequently to dreſs and undreſs the bride,* and *to cauſe her to wear in that ſame day all the clothes made up for her nuptials. The bridegroom's dreſs alſo is frequently changed for the* ſame reaſon [1].

When he ſays it is a ſort of magnificence in the Eaſt to do this, he ſeems to affirm that the management is not peculiar to the Arabs, but common in thoſe countries. The Arabian Nights Entertainments confirm this [2], mentioning *this changing of the bride's dreſs,* and the preſenting her when new-dreſſed to the bridegroom, if I do not miſremember, more than once.

[1] Voy. dans la Pal. p. 225.

[2] No. 100, 101, 102, 103, &c.

The

The attending to this circumſtance throws an energy over the words of St. John, which I do not remember to have ſeen any where noticed, "I John ſaw the holy city, new "Jeruſalem, coming down from God out "of heaven, *prepared as a bride for her huſ-* "*band,*" Rev. xxi. 2.

Sir John Chardin, in his manuſcript which I have ſo frequently quoted, ſuppoſes the decorations and attitude the Prophet gives [3] to Aholibah, or Jeruſalem, are thoſe of a *bride*. It is *preciſely after this manner the bride receives her huſband in Aſia: they carry her to a bath; they afterwards adorn her magnificently, they paint, they perfume her; they carry her to the nuptial chamber; they place her upon a bed; they ſet a ſmoking ſome incenſe-pots, and ſerve up ſweetmeats upon a table placed before her. The bed is a mattraſs with it's covering, laid upon the carpet, with large cuſhions placed at her back and her ſides, which our authors every where mean by the word bed, when they are ſpeaking of the Eaſt, and are uſed on all occaſions there among the great, at feaſts, at viſits, &c.*

OBSERVATION XLVII.

When Biſhop Patrick ſuppoſes the words of the Pſalmiſt [1] "Behold, as the eyes of "ſervants look unto the hand of their maſ- "ters, and as the eyes of a maiden unto

[3] Ezek. 23. 40, 41.

[1] Pſ. 123. 2.

"the

" the hand of her miſtreſs : *ſo* our eyes wait " upon the Lord our God, until that he " have mercy upon us," as ſignifying, We ſubmit " ourſelves to this ſevere puniſh- " ment, as poor ſlaves do to the *ſtroke of their* " *offended maſter or miſtreſs*—reſolving to bear " it patiently, till thou, our Lord, *who doſt* " *inflict it*, wilt be pleaſed, &c." he does not ſeem to have formed conceptions lofty enough of the *ſtate* aſſumed by ſuperiors in the Eaſt, and eſpecially by princes, when he ſuppoſes the great King of kings puniſhing Iſrael *with his own hands.*

On the other hand, Sir J. Chardin's MS. note on the place doth not give us a complete view of the thought of the Pſalmiſt. He tells us, *It is taken from a cuſtom made uſe of amongſt all the great in the Eaſt, eſpecially in Aſia Minor, I mean the Turks, there every order is given by a ſign of the hands. From hence the mutes of the Seraglio. The ſame obtains in the Perſian court.* This is the ſame with the firſt of the four explanatons that are given us in Pool's Synopſis : but did the Pſalmiſt mean to repreſent the Iſrælites as ſaying, they would attentively obſerve all the orders God ſhould give them, and ſet themſelves to obey them, till the affliction they groaned under ſhould be removed? Was their attention *then* to ceaſe ?

The true explanation, I ſhould apprehend, is this : As a ſlave, ordered by a maſter or miſtreſs to be chaſtiſed for a fault, turns his

or

or her imploring eyes to that ſuperior, till that motion of the hand appears that puts an end to the bitterneſs that is felt; ſo our eyes are up to thee, our God, till thy hand ſhall give the ſignal for putting an end to our ſorrows: for our enemies, O Lord! we are ſenſible, are only executing thy orders, and chaſtening us according to thy pleaſure.]

OBSERVATION XLVIII. XXXIV.

Notwithſtanding there is *ſo much diſtance* kept up between ſuperiors and inferiors in theſe countries, and ſuch ſolemnity and awfulneſs in their behaviour, which my reader muſt often have remarked, yet we find them, *in ſome caſes*, more *condeſcending* than the great among us.

The polite editor of the Ruins of Balbec takes notice of the gentleneſs and humanity with which the great, in the Levant, temper the inſolence of power to the ſtranger under their roof, with a ſort of admiration [1]; but he is not explicit enough for my purpoſe, nor are thoſe ſoftenings only in the caſe of ſtrangers. Dr. Pococke is more ample, and ſpeaks of the *admiſſion of the poor to their tables*. So in his account of a great entertainment, made by the governor of an Ægyptian village for the Caſhif [2] with whom he travelled, he ſays, the cuſtom was for

[1] P. 4.

[2] The governor of a diſtrict in that country.

every

every one when he had done eating, to get up, waſh his hands, and take a draught of water, and ſo in a continual ſucceſſion, till the *poor came in*, and eat up all; for that the Arabs never ſet by any thing that is brought to table, ſo that when they kill a ſheep, they dreſs it all, call in their neighbours, and the *poor*, and finiſh every thing [3]. That author afterwards mentions what is ſtill more ſurprizing: for in giving an account of the diet of the Eaſtern people, p. 182, &c, he informs us, that an *Arab prince* will often dine in the ſtreet before his door, and call to all that paſs, even *beggars*, in the uſual expreſſion of Biſmillah, that is, in the Name of God; who come and ſit down, and when they have done, retire with the uſual form of returning thanks.

The picture then which our Lord exhibits, Luke xiv, of a *king's* making a great feaſt, and, when the gueſts refuſed to come, ſending for the poor, the maimed, the blind, is not ſo unlike life, as perhaps we have been ready to imagine [4].

XXXV. OBSERVATION XLIX.

Though *mean people* in travelling might make uſe of *trees* for ſhelter from the heat, we may perhaps think it almoſt incredible that *kings* ſhould, imagining that either pro-

[3] Vol. 1. p. 57.

[4] St. Luke does not mention the quality of him that made the feaſt; but St. Matthew, in what is ſuppoſed to be his account of the ſame parable, calls him a *King*, ch. 22. 2.]

per

per houſes would be marked out for their reception; or, if that could not be conveniently done in ſome of their routs, that at leaſt they would have tents carried along with them, as perſons of more than ordinary rank and condition are ſuppoſed by Dr. Shaw now to do [1]. For theſe reaſons we may poſſibly have been extremely ſurprized at that paſſage concerning Saul, 1 Sam. xxii. 6, "Now Saul abode in Gibeah, *under* "*a tree* in Ramah," or, according to the margin, *under a grove in an high place*, "having his ſpear in his hand, and all his ſervants were ſtanding about him." Yet, ſtrange as this may appear to us, it is natural enough according to the preſent cuſtoms of the Eaſt, where we know the ſolemnity and awfulneſs of ſuperiority is kept up as high as ever.

Thus when Dr. Pococke was travelling in the company of the governor of Faiume, who was treated with great reſpect as he paſſed along, they paſſed one night, he tells us [2], in a grove of palm-trees. The governor might, no doubt, had he pleaſed, have lodged in ſome village; but he rather choſe a place which we think very odd for a perſon of figure. The poſition of Saul, which was on an *high place* according to the margin, reminds me of another paſſage of this author [3], where he gives us an account

[1] Pref. p. 8. [2] Vol. 1. p. 56. [3] P. 127.

of the going out of the Caia, or lieutenant of the governor of Meloui, on a ſort of Arab expedition, towards a place where there was an ancient temple, attended by many people with kettle-drums and other muſic: the Doctor viſited that temple, and upon his return from it went to the Caia, he ſays, "whoſe carpet and cuſhions were laid *on* "*an height*, on which he ſat with the *ſtand-* "*ard by him*, that is carried before him "when he goes out in this manner. I ſat "down with him, and coffee was brought; "the Sardar himſelf [4] came after as incog- "nito." Saul ſeems, by the deſcription of him, as well as by the following part of the hiſtory, to have been purſuing after David, and ſtopping, to have placed himſelf according to the *preſent Oriental mode* in the poſture of chief. Whether the ſpear in his hand, or at his hand, (as it might be tranſlated according to Noldius, and as appears by the uſe of that prefix in Ezek. x. 15,) was the ſame thing to Saul's people that the ſtandard was to thoſe of the Caia, I know not: if it was, there is a third thing in this text illuſtrated by the Doctor's accounts, the ſtopping under a *tree* or *grove*; the ſtopping on an high place; and the ſacred hiſtorian's remark that he had his *ſpear* by him. It is certain, that when a long pike is carried before a company of Arabs, it is a mark that an Arab Schech (or prince) is there, which

[4] That is, the governor.

pike

pike is carried before him; and when he alights, and the horſes are faſtened, the *pike is fixed*, as appears by a ſtory in Norden [5].

OBSERVATION L. XXXVI.

Norden tells us, that when he and his company were at Eſſuaen, an expreſs arrived there, diſpatched by an Arab prince, who brought a *letter* directed to the Reys, (or maſter of their barque,) enjoining him not to ſet out with his barque, or carry them any farther; adding, that in a day's time he ſhould be at Eſſuaen, and there would give his orders relative to them. "The letter however, *according to the uſage* of the "Turks," ſays this author, "was open; "and as the Reys was not on board, the "pilot carried it to one of our Fathers to "read it [1]."

Sanballat's ſending his ſervant then with an *open* letter, which is mentioned Neh. vi. 5, doth not appear an odd thing, it ſhould ſeem; but if it was according to their uſages, why is this circumſtance complained of, as it viſibly is? Why indeed is it mentioned at all? Why! Becauſe, however the ſending letters *open* to *common people* may be cuſtomary in theſe countries, it is not according to their uſages to ſend them ſo to *people of diſtinction*. So Dr. Pococke, in his account

[5] Vol. 2. p. 181. See alſo p. 71. [1] P. 109.

of that very country where Norden was when this letter was brought, gives us, among other things, in the 57th plate, the figure of a Turkiſh letter put into a ſatin bag, *to be ſent to a great man*, with a paper tied to it directed and *ſealed*, and an ivory button tied on the wax. So Lady Montague ſays the Baſſa of Belgrade's anſwer to the Engliſh ambaſſador, going to Conſtantinople, was brought to him *in a purſe* of ſcarlet ſatin [2].

The great Emir indeed of the Arabs, according to d'Arvieux, was not wont to incloſe his letters in theſe bags, any more than to have them adorned with flouriſhes; but that is ſuppoſed to have been owing to the unpoliteneſs of the Arabs; and he tells us, that when he acted as ſecretary to the Emir, he ſupplied theſe defects, and that his doing ſo was highly acceptable to the Emir [3]. Had this open letter then come from Geſhem, who was an Arab [4], it might have paſſed unnoticed; but as it was from Sanballat, the incloſing it in an handſome bag was a ceremony Nehemiah had reaſon to expect from him, ſince he was a perſon of diſtinction in the Perſian court, and then governor of Judæa; and the not doing it was the greateſt inſult, inſinuating, that though Nehemiah was, according to him, preparing to aſſume the royal dignity, he ſhould be ſo far

[2] Letters, vol. 1. p. 136. [3] Voy dans la Pal p. 58, 59. [4] Neh. 6. 1.

from

from acknowledging him in that character, that he would not even pay him the compliment due to *every perſon of diſtinction*[5].

If this is the true repreſentation of the affair, commentators have given but a poor account of it. Sanballat ſent him a meſſage, ſays one of them, "pretending, it is likely, *ſpecial reſpect* and kindneſs unto him, "in informing him what was laid to his "charge."

OBSERVATION LI. XXXVII.

We were ſpeaking lately of Saul, and ſome marks of dignity by which he was diſtinguiſhed in his purſuit after David, if we may put that conſtruction upon them which modern Eaſtern cuſtoms lead us to, and that engages me to take notice of another circumſtance of that ſort which commentators have been equally ſilent about, and that is, his wearing *a bracelet* at the time of his death. This I take to have been an enſign of royalty; and in that view, I ſuppoſe, we are to underſtand the account that is given us, of the Amalekite's bringing the *bracelet* that he found on Saul's arm, *along with his crown*, to David, 2 Sam. i. 10.

[5 The MS. C. gives us a like account of the Eaſtern letters, adding this circumſtance, *that thoſe that are unincloſed, as ſent to common people, are uſually* rolled up; *in which form their paper commonly appears.* Note on Jer. 36. 2. A letter in the form of a ſmall roll of paper would appear very odd in our eyes, but it ſeems is common there.]

It is not *impoſſible* that this bracelet might be no part of the regalia of the kingdom of Iſrael, but merely a thing of value which Saul had about him, and which that ſtranger thought fit to preſent *with his crown* to David; but it ſeems *rather* to be mentioned as a royal ornament: and it is certain it has been ſince uſed in the Eaſt as a badge of power. For when the Khalife Caïem Bemrillah granted the inveſtiture of certain dominions to an Eaſtern prince, which his predeceſſors had poſſeſſed, and among the reſt of the city of Bagdet itſelf, it is ſaid this ceremony of inveſtiture was performed by the Khalife's ſending him letters patent, a *crown*, a chain, and *bracelets* [6].

I do not however find that any of the commentators have taken Saul's bracelet in this light. All the obſervation that Grotius makes upon it is, that it was an ornament uſed by the *men* as well as *women* of thoſe nations, upon which he cites Num. xxxi. 50.

The ornament however, probably, was not ſo common as we may have been ready to ſuppoſe; for though the word bracelet is frequently to be met with in our tranſlation, the original word in this text occurs *at moſt* but in two other places; and as the children of Iſrael found one or more of theſe bracelets among the ſpoils of Midian, ſo they killed at the ſame time five of their *kings*, Num. xxxi. 8. The other place indeed ſpeaks

[6] D'Herbelot, p. 541.

of female ornaments, Is. iii. 20, but if the word is the same, might not the women of that age wear an ornament which, from its likeness to one of the ensigns of royalty, might be called by the same name, as in some countries of late [2] brides have worn an ornament which has been called a crown, though that word indisputably, long before that time, marked out the chief badge of royal dignity?

Observation LII. XXXVIII.

The slaughter of Saul filled his camp with terror and mourning: before that, it is probable, his tent might sometimes be distinguished by lights; at least these illuminations are now used in those countries to do honour to princes, and must not here be forgotten.

So the tent of the Bey of Girge, Norden tells us [1], was distinguished from the other tents in that encampment by forty lanterns, suspended before it in form of checquer-work. So Thevenot, describing the reception of the new Bashaw of Ægypt under tents, near Cairo, says there were two great trees, on which two hundred lamps hanged, at the gate of the little inclosure which surrounded his pavilions, which were lighted in the night-time; and that there was the same

[2] Voyages faits en Moscovie par Olearius, p. 238.
[1] Part 2. p. 45.

before the tents of the principal officers, *as in the caravan of Mecca*[2].

In the Eaſt then *now* it is a cuſtomary thing; if it was the ſame anciently, perhaps the words of Job might refer to it, ch. xxix. 2, 3, "Oh! that it were with "me as in months paſt, as in the days "when God *preſerved me*: when *his candle* "ſhined upon my head," (when I returned proſperous from expeditions againſt the enemies of my tribe, and had my *tent adorned with lamps*,) "and I paſſed through the night "by the light of it."

As to illuminating *their houſes* on occaſions of joy, I have elſewhere given an account of it[3].

Observation LIII.

[*Chains about the necks of their camels* are mentioned in Judges viii. 26, as a part of the ornaments belonging to the kings of Midian, which were given to Gideon.

Perhaps theſe chains were like thoſe Biſhop Pococke ſaw in Ægypt, hanging *from the bridles* of the Agas of the ſeven military bodies of that country, *to the breaſt-plates* of the animals on which they rode, in the grand proceſſion of the caravan about ſetting out for Mecca[1]. Only theſe were of *ſilver*, whereas it ſhould ſeem thoſe of the Midian-

[2] Part 1. p. 160. [3] Chap. 3. Obſerv. 18. [1] Vol. 1. p. 264.

itiſh

itiſh Kings were of *gold.* They were however both, apparently, marks of diſtinction and grandeur; and, probably, were worn in the ſame manner.

Observation LIV.

The aſſembling together of *multitudes* to the place where perſons have lately expired, and bewailing them in a *noiſy* manner, is a cuſtom ſtill retained in the Eaſt, and ſeems to be conſidered as an honour done to the deceaſed.

That it was done anciently, appears from the ſtory of the dying of the daughter of Jairus. St. Mark uſes the term Θορυβος, which ſignifies tumult, to expreſs the ſtate of things in the houſe of Jairus then, ch. v. 38. And accordingly Sir J. Chardin's MS. tells us, that now the *concourſe in places where perſons lie dead is incredible. Every body runs thither, the poor and the rich; and the firſt more eſpecially make a ſtrange noiſe.*

Dr. Shaw takes notice, I remember, of the noiſe they make in bewailing the dead, as ſoon as they are departed; but he takes no notice, I think, of the great concourſe of people of all ſorts on ſuch occaſions; which yet is a circumſtance very proper to be remarked, in order to enter fully into the ſenſe of the word Θορυβος.

But the moſt diſtinct account of the Eaſtern lamentations that Sir J. Chardin has

given us, is in the 6th volume of his MS, by which we learn that their emotions of joy, as well as of ſorrow, are expreſſed by loud cries. The paſſage is extremely curious, and the purport of it is as follows: *Gen. xlv. 2.* "*And he wept aloud, and the Ægyptians and* "*the houſe of Pharaoh heard.*" *This is exactly the genius of the people of Aſia, eſpecially of the women. Their ſentiments of joy or of grief are properly tranſports; and their tranſports are ungoverned, exceſſive, and truly outrageous. When any one returns from* a long journey, *or* dies, *his family burſt into cries, that may be heard twenty doors off; and this is renewed at different times, and continues many days, according to the vigour of the paſſion. Eſpecially are theſe cries long in the caſe of death, and frightful, for their mourning is right-down deſpair, and an image of hell. I was lodged in the year* 1676 *at Iſpahan, near the Royal Square: the miſtreſs of the next houſe to mine died at that time. The moment ſhe expired all the family, to the number of twenty-five or thirty people, ſet up ſuch a furious cry that I was quite ſtartled, and was above two hours before I could recover myſelf*[1]. *Theſe cries continue a long time, then ceaſe all at once; they begin again as ſuddenly, at day-break, and in concert. It is this ſuddenneſs*

[1] It ſeems, according to the margin, *that it was in the middle of the night, Sir John in bed, and the cry ſo violent, that he imagined they were his own ſervants that were actually murdering.*

which

which is ſo terrifying, together with a greater ſhrillneſs and loudneſs than one would eaſily imagine. This enraged kind of mourning, if I may call it ſo, continued forty days; not equally violent, but with diminution from day to day. The longeſt and moſt violent acts were when they waſhed the body, when they perfumed it, when they carried it out to be interred, at making the inventory, and when they divided the effects. You are not to ſuppoſe that thoſe that were ready to ſplit their throats with crying out wept as much; the greateſt part of them did not ſhed a ſingle tear through the whole tragedy.

This is a very diſtinct deſcription of Eaſtern *mourning for the dead:* they cry out too, it ſeems, on other occaſions; no wonder then the houſe of Pharaoh heard, when Joſeph wept at making himſelf known to his brethren.

Observation LV.

The making a kind of *funeral-feaſt* was alſo a method of honouring the dead, uſed anciently in theſe countries, and is continued down to theſe times.

The references of commentators here have been, in common, to the Greek and Roman uſages; but as it muſt be more pleaſing to learn Eaſtern cuſtoms of this kind, I will ſet down what Sir J. Chardin has given us an account of in one of his Manuſcripts; and the rather, as ſome particulars are new to me.

The

The Oriental Chriſtians ſtill make banquets of this kind, (ſpeaking of the ancient Jewiſh feaſts of mourning, mentioned Jer. xvi. 6, 7, and elſewhere,) *by a cuſtom derived from the Jews; and I have been many times preſent at them, among the Armenians in Perſia. The 7th verſe ſpeaks of thoſe proviſions which are wont to be ſent to the houſe of the deceaſed, and of thoſe healths that are drank to the ſurvivors of the family, wiſhing that the dead* may have been *the victim for the ſins of the family. The ſame, with reſpect to eating, is practiſed among the Moors.—Where we find the word comforting made uſe of, we are to underſtand it as ſignifying the performing theſe offices.* In like manner he explains the *bread of men*, mentioned Ezek. xxiv. 17, as ſignifying *the bread of others; the bread ſent to mourners; the bread that the neighbours, relations, and friends ſent.*

Observation LVI.

The burying warriors *with their arms*, ſeems alſo to have been a method ſometimes made uſe of, to do them honour.

Ezekiel refers apparently to ſuch a practice, when he ſaith, "They ſhall not lie "with the mighty that are fallen of the "uncircumciſed, which are gone down to "hell *with their weapons of war:* and they "have laid *their ſwords under their heads.*" ch. xxxii. 27.

Grotius upon this occaſion cites 1 Macc. xiii. 29, not very happily, for the Prophet is

is ſpeaking of burying *their arms*, particularly *their ſwords*, with warriors; and the apocryphal hiſtorian is deſcribing carvings, on pillars, ſet over the graves of ſuch.

Sir J. Chardin's MS. note is, *In Mingrelia they all ſleep with their ſwords under their heads, and their other arms by their ſides; and they bury them in the ſame manner, their arms being placed in the ſame poſition.* This is all he ſays; and when we think of the little connexion between *Mingrelia* and a *Jewiſh Prophet*, we read the remark with ſome coolneſs. But things greatly alter, when we come to reflect, that it has been ſuppoſed by many learned men, and in particular by the extremely celebrated Bochart, that Meſhech and Tubal, of whom Ezekiel is here ſpeaking, mean Mingrelia, and the country thereabouts: this greatly excites curioſity, and makes ſtrong impreſſions on the mind.

In the firſt place, it cannot but be remarked, that Ezekiel is ſpeaking of the burial of ſeveral nations in this chapter, Ægypt, Aſhur, Elam, Edom, &c; but no mention is made of interring weapons of war in any of the paragraphs, that only excepted which ſpeaks of Meſhech and Tubal, which nations are joined together by the Prophet. The burying warriors then with their weapons of war, ſeems to have had ſome diſtinguiſhing relation to Meſhech and Tubal, or *Mingrelia and the adjoining country*.

Secondly,

Secondly, The modern management there ſeems to be derived from the cuſtoms of the *very ancient* inhabitants of that country; and we are not to ſuppoſe, on the contrary, that the Prophet intends here to diſtinguiſh Meſhech and Tubal from the other nations of antiquity, by this circumſtance, that thoſe other nations were buried with their weapons of war, whereas Meſhech and Tubal were buried without them: ſince the inhabitants of Mingrelia are thus buried now; ſince cuſtoms hold a long time in the Eaſt; ſince we ſee nothing of this martial pomp in the interments of the modern inhabitants of the other countries named here; nor any accounts of their burying them in this form there anciently, in any of the ſacred writings.

When then the Prophet ſaith, ver. 27, "They ſhall not lie with the mighty that "are fallen of the uncircumciſed, which "are gone down to hell," (or the grave,) "with their weapons of war, and they have "laid their ſwords under their heads," they muſt be the Ægyptians he is here ſpeaking of; or he muſt mean that the Mingrelian warriors that were cut off with the ſword were, as totally vanquiſhed, buried by their enemies, and without the uſual martial ſolemnities with which the people of that country were wont to have their dead interred.

It cannot well be underſtood in the firſt ſenſe, becauſe the Prophet, all along, deſcribes the

the Ægyptians as being to lie with the reſt of the uncircumciſed in the grave; it moſt probably is therefore to be underſtood in the ſecond [1].

Observation LVII.

The *burying* of perſons *in their cities* is alſo an Eaſtern manner of doing them honour. They are in common buried without the walls of their towns, as it is apparent, from many places of the Old and New Teſtament, the ancient Jews alſo were; but ſometimes they bury in their cities, when they do a perſon a *diſtinguiſhed honour*.

"Each ſide of the road," ſays the author of the hiſtory of the Piratical States of Barbary [1], "without the gate, is crowded with "ſepulchres. Thoſe of the Paſhas and the "Deys are built near the gate of *Babalouet*. "They are between ten and twelve feet high, "very curiouſly white-waſhed, and built in "the form of a dome.—Hali Dey, as a "*very eminent mark of diſtinction*, was buried "in an incloſed tomb *within* the city. For "forty days ſucceſſively his tomb was deco-"rated with flowers, and ſurrounded with "people, offering up their prayers to God

[1] This perhaps may be more eaſily admitted, if it is conſidered, that the original words, tranſlated, "and they "have laid their ſwords under their heads, but" &c, are, "and they have given their ſwords under their heads, "and their iniquities" &c, which may be underſtood of their ſwords *not* being placed under their heads, but taken away by their conquerors.]

[1] P. 163.

"for

" for his ſoul. This Dey was accounted a " *Saint*, and a particular favourite of hea- " ven, becauſe he died a natural death; an " happineſs of which there are few inſtances " ſince the eſtabliſhment of Deys at Al- " giers."

No comment is more lively, or more ſure, than this, on thoſe paſſages that ſpeak of the burying the kings of the houſe of David within Jeruſalem; thoſe ſepulchres, and that of Huldah the propheteſs, being the only ones to be found there[z]. But it is not a perfect comment; for it is to be remembered that a *peculiar holineſs* belonged to Jeruſalem, as well as the *dignity of being the royal city*, but no particular ſanctity is aſcribed to Algiers, by thoſe people that buried *Hali Dey* there.

XL. Observation LVIII.

This burying perſons in their cities is a very extraordinary honour paid the dead; ſepulchral memorials are a much more common one: they are, however, attended with circumſtances that want illuſtration, conſequently to be conſidered in this chapter.

I would here examine thoſe words of Job, " O that my words were now written! O " that they were *printed* in a book! That " they were graven with an iron pen and

[z] Lightfoot, vol. 2. p. 21.

" lead,

" lead, in the *rock* for ever!" Job xix. 23, 24.

The ſenſe of theſe words, according to the tranſlation of the celebrated Schultens, and Dr. Grey's notes extracted from him, is this: Who will write my words! Who will record them in a book! Let them be engraven on ſome ſepulchral ſtone, with an iron pen, and with lead, ſo as to laſt for ever![1]

The word *rock*, which our tranſlators have made uſe of, ſeems to me to be more juſt than that uſed by Schultens. It is certain the word Tzur, which is in the original, ſignifies, in other places of the book of Job, a rock; and never there, or any where elſe in the Scriptures, that I am aware of, (and I have with ſome care examined the point,) doth it ſignify a ſmall ſepulchral ſtone, or monumental pillar. On the other hand, I am ſure, the words that are uſed for this purpoſe, when the ſacred writers ſpeak of the ſepulchral ſtone on Rachel's grave; of the pillar erected by Abſalom to keep up his memory; and of that monument which marked out the place where the Prophet was buried that propheſied againſt the altar of Jeroboam, and which continued to the days of Joſiah; are different.

Nor can the uſing this term appear ſtrange, if we conſider the *extreme antiquity* of the book of Job; ſince it is eaſy to imagine, that

[1] See chap. 7. Obſ. 1.

the *firſt inſcriptions on ſtone* were engraved on ſome places of the rocks which were accidentally ſmoothed, and made pretty even. And, in fact, we find ſome that are very ancient, engraved on the *natural rock*, and what is remarkable, in Arabia, where it is ſuppoſed Job lived. This is one of the moſt curious obſervations in that account of the Prefetto of Ægypt, which was publiſhed by the late Biſhop of Clogher; and is, in my apprehenſion, an exquiſite confirmation of our tranſlation, though there is reaſon to think, neither the writer, nor editor of that journal, thought of this paſſage, and ſo conſequently claims a place in this collection.

The Prefetto, ſpeaking in his journal of his diſengaging himſelf at length from the mountains of Faran, ſays, they came at length " to a large plain, ſurrounded how-
" ever with high hills, at the foot of which
" we repoſed ourſelves in our tents, at about
" half an hour after ten. Theſe hills are
" called *Gebel el Mokatab*, that is, the *writ-*
" *ten mountains*; for, as ſoon as we had
" parted from the mountains of *Faran*, we
" paſſed by ſeveral others for an hour toge-
" ther, *engraved with ancient unknown cha-*
" *racters*, which were cut into the hard
" marble *rock*, ſo high, as to be in many
" places at twelve or fourteen feet diſtance
" from the ground: and though we had in
" our company perſons who were acquainted
" with the *Arabic*, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac,
Coptic,

" Coptic, Latin, Armenian, Turkiſh, Engliſh,
" Illyrican, German, and Bohemian languag-
" es, yet none of them had any knowledge
" of theſe characters; which have never-
" theleſs been cut into the *hard rock* with
" the greateſt induſtry, in a place where
" there is neither water, nor any thing to
" be gotten to eat.

" It is probable therefore theſe unknown
" characters contain ſome very ſecret myſteries,
" and that they were engraved either by the
" *Chaldeans*, or ſome other perſons long be-
" fore the coming of Chriſt."

The mention of the Engliſh, the Illyrican, the German, and the Bohemian languages, might at leaſt have been ſpared out of this enumeration of particulars; it could not be imagined the inſcriptions were in any of thoſe languages: it would have been ſufficient to have remarked, they were in none of the characters now in uſe in the Eaſt, or in any of thoſe in which ancient inſcriptions before known are found written in thoſe countries.

The curious Biſhop of Clogher, who moſt laudably made very generous propoſals to the Antiquarian Society, to engage them to try to decypher theſe inſcriptions, was ready to imagine they are the *ancient Hebrew characters*, which the Iſraelites, (having learned to write at the time of giving the law,) diverted themſelves with engraving on theſe mountains, during their abode in the wilderneſs.

The making out, upon what occaſion theſe letters were engraven, might probably be very entertaining to ſome of the inquiſitive; I very much queſtion, however, whether we can *naturally* ſuppoſe, this laborious way of writing was practiſed *for diverſion*. The Prefetto ſays, they were an hour paſſing by theſe mountains, by which, however, I do not imagine he deſigns to inſinuate, that this *whole length* of rock is engraven, but only that every now and then there is an inſcription, and that from the firſt which they obſerved, to the laſt, was an hour's journey, or three miles; but cutting the letters of theſe inſcriptions into the hard marble, and ſometimes at twelve or fourteen feet from the ground, which is the Prefetto's account, could not ſurely be mere diverſion.

When, on the contrary, I conſider the *nature of the place*, there being neither water, nor any thing to be gotten to eat; and compare it with the account Maillet gives us [2] of the great burying-place of the Ægyptians, which is called the Plain of Mummies, and which, according to him, is a dry ſandy circular plain, no leſs than four leagues over; and when I recollect the account that Maundrell gives of figures and inſcriptions, which, like theſe, are engraven on tables plained in the natural rock, and at ſome height above the road, which he found near the river Lycus [2], which figures,

[2] Lett. 7. p. 275, 276. [2] P. 37

he

he tells us, ſeemed to reſemble mummies, and related, as he imagined, to ſome ſepulchres thereabouts; I ſhould be ready to ſuppoſe this muſt be ſome very ancient burying-place [3]. Such a ſuppoſition juſtifies the explana-

[3] Either of the Iſraelites when in the wilderneſs, in which caſe the examining the inſcriptions will anſwer the ſame end, as if the Biſhop of Clogher's ſuppoſition were juſt; or of ſome warriors belonging to other nations, who lay buried there; or made uſe of upon ſome other occaſion, of which the memory is now loſt. [I muſt not however conceal from my reader, that ſince the firſt edition of this book, a paper of Mr. Wortley Montague's has been publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. 56, in which he ſeems to aſcribe theſe engravings to pilgrims, in their journies from Jeruſalem to Mount Sinai. But would they in that caſe have been ſo numerous? Or at leaſt, would they have been engraven by ſuch perſons at the *height* of twelve or fourteen feet? Perhaps there is a mixture of both kinds of inſcription. Benjamin the Jew, who lived ſix hundred years ago, tells us, in his Itinerary, that travellers were then wont to inſcribe their names on certain remarkable places: he mentions one at Jeruſalem, p. 75 (Ed. Elzev. 1633); and Rachel's ſepulchre as another, where all Jews that paſſed by wrote their names, p. 83. In another page he ſpeaks of a great burying-place near Rama, which ſtretched out two miles in length, p. 89. Might not the written mountains be a burial-place half as long again as that near Rama? And might not travellers engrave their names on theſe ſame rocks, as Benjamin tells us the Jews of his time were wont to do on Rachel's ſepulchre, and thus mingle together the memorials of thoſe *wayfaring-men that tarried there only for a night*, and of thoſe that were entered into their *long home?* The Greek and Arabic inſcriptions, which only ſay "ſuch an one was here at ſuch a time," as Montague aſſures us, are evidently the *trivial memorandums* of paſſengers, written by people of different nations; thoſe engraven at the height of twelve or fourteen feet, one would think

planation of Grey, as to the alluding in theſe words to a ſepulchral inſcription; but would engage us to retain the *Engliſh* tranſlation as to the term *rock*, in contradiſtinction to monumental pillars, or graveſtones cut from the quarry.

But be this as it will, it is certain there are in Arabia ſeveral inſcriptions *in the natural rock*; that this way of writing is very *durable*, for theſe engravings have, it ſeems, outlived the knowledge of the characters made uſe of; the practice was, for the ſame reaſon, *very ancient* as well as durable; and if theſe letters are not ſo ancient as the days of Moſes, which the Biſhop of Clogher ſuppoſes, yet theſe inſcriptions might very well be the continuation of a practice in uſe in the days of Job, and may therefore be thought to be referred to in theſe words of his, "O "that they were graven in the rock "for ever!"

think ſhould be *ſepulchral inſcriptions*. Niebuhr mentions a great cœmetery in this ſame deſert of Sinai, *where a great many ſtones are ſet up in an* erect poſition, *on a high and ſteep mountain, covered with as beautiful hieroglyphics as thoſe of the ancient* Ægyptian *monuments. The Arabs*, he ſays, *carried them to this burial-place, which is really more remarkable than the written mountains, ſeen and deſcribed by other travellers in this deſert; for ſo many well-cut ſtones could never be the monuments of wandering Arabs, but muſt neceſſarily owe their origin to the inhabitants of ſome great city near this place, which is however now a deſert*, p. 347. Unhappily he doth not tell us whether the hieroglyphics of this burial-place are incruſtated with colours, like thoſe of Ægypt, or not.]

But however happy our tranſlators have been in uſing the word rock in the 24th verſe, it is certain they have been very far from being ſo in the 23d, as to the word *printed*: it was abſurd to employ a term that expreſſes what was invented but three hundred years ago; and eſpecially as it doth not even by an improper expreſſion convey the idea of Job, which was the perpetuating his words, as is apparent from the 24th verſe—*records*, to which Job refers, being *written*, not *printed among us*.

Theſe written Arabian mountains very agreeably illuſtrate theſe words in part, and perhaps but in part; for it doth not appear from the accounts of the Prefetto with what view *lead* is mentioned here, "graven with "an iron pen and lead." Grey ſuppoſes the letters being hollowed in the rock with the iron pen or chiſſel, were filled up with melted lead, in order to be more legible; but it doth not appear that any of theſe inſcriptions are ſo filled up. Indeed, though ſome of them are engraven, moſt of thoſe Dr. Pococke obſerved [2] near Mount Sinai, were not cut, but ſtained, making the granite of

[2] Vol. 1. p. 148. Dr. Pococke, however, himſelf ſaw ſome that were cut, ſee p. 59; as indeed the expreſſion, that *moſt* of them that *he* ſaw were ſtained, implies that ſome were engraven. [That paper of Wortley Montague's, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. 50, in like manner ſpeaks of ſeveral inſcriptions, in this wilderneſs, that were ſtained; but it tells us, that thoſe of the written mountains were engraved, with a pointed inſtrument.]

a lighter colour, which ſtain he had an opportunity of being ſatisfied ſunk ſome depth into the ſtone; whether this was done with *lead*, let the curious determine. The Septuagint do not explain this at all, though the painting of granite rocks was very common anciently in Ægypt, and thoſe paintings, (ſtainings, or mere incruſtations, as Norden took them to be,) extremely durable. "This "ſort of painting," ſays Norden, "has nei-"ther ſhade nor degradation. The figures "are incruſtated like the cyphers on the "dial-plates of watches, with this differ-"ence, that they cannot be detached. I "muſt own, that this incruſtated matter "*ſurpaſſes in ſtrength* all that I have ſeen "in this kind. It is ſuperior to the al-"freſco, and the Moſaic work; and in-"deed, has the advantage of *laſting a longer* "*time*. It is ſomething ſurprizing to ſee "how gold, ultra marine, and divers other "colours, have preſerved their luſtre to the "preſent age. Perhaps I ſhall be aſked "how all theſe lively colours could ſoften "together; but I muſt own it is a queſtion "that I am unable to decide[5]." But if Job referred to the writing with theſe durable ſtaining materials on the rocks, the Septuagint did not underſtand him to do ſo, they ſeem rather to have ſuppoſed he meant the recording things by engraving accounts of them on plates of lead. "Who

[5] 2 part, p. 75, 76.

"will

" will cauſe my words to be written, to be " put in a book that ſhall laſt for ever; " with an iron pen and lead, (i. e. upon " lead,) or to be engraven on the rocks?" Which cutting letters on lead marks out an ancient method, indeed, of perpetuating the memory of things, but is very different from that which Dr. Pococke ſaw had anciently obtained in Arabia, the country of Job, and to which therefore his words may poſſibly refer.

[I am inclined however, upon the reconſidering this place, to believe, that the incruſtating materials, that were anciently uſed for the colouring the engravings on the rock or ſtone, ſuch as Norden ſaw in Ægypt, are meant by the word tranſlated *lead* here, whether they were preparations of lead, or compoſed of other matters; ſince we find it is uſed Lev. xiv. 42, 45, for the *plaiſter* made uſe of to cover the ſtones of a building, and perhaps for the terrace-morter of the roof, being applied to a building in the ſame way as gold and ſilver were to the walls of the temple; the ſame verb being uſed for the application of both to their reſpective buildings, 1 Chron. xxix. 4. As it was a common practice in Ægypt, to overlay their hieroglyphics with ſome *coloured plaiſter* or paint, which the word tranſlated *lead* ſignifies, the ſame might be practiſed in Arabia in the time of Job, though we are not expreſsly told that travellers have met

with ſuch inſcriptions; or this Ægyptian way of recording things might be celebrated among the Arabs, and other Eaſtern nations, as extremely durable, as in fact it has been found to be; and this might be ſufficient to engage Job to uſe this expreſſion, O that my words *were written!* that they were recorded *in a book!* that they were graven with an *iron pen*, and incruſtated with ſome *durable plaiſter*, after the manner of the Ægyptians, whoſe memorials are ſuppoſed to be the moſt laſting of any nation's!]

There is no neceſſity of ſuppoſing that the *writing on the ſtones* mentioned Deut. xxvii. 2, 3, which apparently was deſigned to be very laſting, was by inſcribing them on the *plaiſter* of lime, as has been imagined. The plaiſter, or morter, might be commanded, becauſe it is made extremely ſtrong and durable, for ſome works, in thoſe countries, a circumſtance which both [6] Maillet and Shaw have remarked; whereas clay, or ſome ſuch mouldering a material, might be thought ſufficient for the cementing the ſtones of common buildings. Nay, their monuments were often heaps of ſtones, unconnected by any cement whatever[7]. I am not ignorant, that the very learned Dr. Kennicott ſuppoſes [8], that the *whole ſtone* was covered with this plaiſter, excepting the let-

[6] Maillet, lett. 12. p. 192, 193. Shaw, p. 206.
[7] See Gen. 31. 46. [8] 2d Diſſ. on the ſtate of the printed Heb. Text. Note, p. 77.

ters,

ters, the ſtones being, he imagines, naturally black. Travellers muſt *decide* of what colour the great ſtones of that diſtrict uſually are; but moſt probably theſe ſtones were only cemented in this caſe to keep them in their proper place.

OBSERVATION LIX. XLI.

But previous to theſe ſepulchral honours, there were ſome methods of honouring the dead, which demand our attention: *the being put into a coffin* has been, in particular, conſidered as a mark of diſtinction.

With us the pooreſt people have their coffins: if the relations cannot afford them, the pariſh is at the expenſe. In the Eaſt, on the contrary, they are not at all made uſe of in our times: Turks and Chriſtians, Thevenot aſſures us [1], agree in this. The ancient Jews probably buried their dead in the ſame manner: neither was the body of our Lord, it ſhould ſeem, put into a coffin; nor that of Eliſha, whoſe bones were touched by the corpſe that was let down a *little after* into his ſepulchre, 2 Kings xiii. 21. That they however were anciently made uſe of in Ægypt all agree, and antique coffins of ſtone, and of ſycamore-wood, are ſtill to be ſeen in that country; not to mention thoſe ſaid to be made of a kind of paſteboard, formed by folding and glewing cloth together a great

[1] Part 1. p. 58.

number

number of times, which were curiouſly plaiſtered, and then painted with hieroglyphics [a]. Its being an ancient Ægyptian cuſtom, and its not being uſed in the neighbouring countries, were doubtleſs the cauſe that the ſacred hiſtorian expreſsly obſerves of Joſeph, that he was not only *embalmed*, but that he was *put into a coffin too*, Gen. l. 26, both being managements peculiar in a manner to the Ægyptians.

Biſhop Patrick, in his commentary on this paſſage, takes notice of theſe Ægyptian coffins of ſycamore-wood and of paſteboard, but he doth not mention the contrary uſage of the neighbouring countries, which was, I ſhould think, requiſite, in order fully to illuſtrate the place: but even this perhaps would not have conveyed the whole thought of the ſacred author. Maillet apprehends, that *all* were not incloſed in coffins that were laid in the Ægyptian repoſitories of the dead, but that it was an honour appropriated to perſons of figure; for after having given an account of ſeveral niches that are found in thoſe chambers of death, he adds, "But it "muſt not be imagined that the bodies, de-"poſited in theſe gloomy apartments, were "*all* incloſed *in cheſts, and placed in niches.* "The greateſt part were ſimply embalmed "and ſwathed after that manner that every "one hath ſome notion of; after which "they laid them one by the ſide of another,

[a] Thevenot, part 1. p. 137.

"without

" without any ceremony. Some were even " put into theſe tombs without any embalm- " ing at all; or ſuch a ſlight one, that there " remains nothing of them in the linen in " which they were wrapped but the bones, " and thoſe half rotten.—It is probable that " each conſiderable family had one of theſe " burial-places to themſelves; that the *niches* " were deſigned for the bodies of the *heads* " *of the family*, and that thoſe of their do- " meſtics and ſlaves had no other care taken " of them, than the *laying them on the* " *ground*, after having been embalmed, or " even without that. Which, without doubt, " was alſo all that was done, even to the " heads of families *of leſs diſtinction*[3]. After which he gives an account of a way of burial, practiſed anciently in that country, which had been but lately diſcovered, and which conſiſted in placing the bodies, after they were ſwathed up, on a layer of charcoal, and covering them with a mat, under a depth of ſand of ſeven or eight feet.

Coffins then were not *univerſally* uſed in Ægypt, that is undoubted from theſe accounts; and probably they were *perſons only of diſtinction* that were buried in them. It is alſo reaſonable to believe, that in times ſo remote as thoſe of Joſeph, they might be much leſs common than afterwards, and conſequently that Joſeph's being put into a coffin in Ægypt, might be mentioned with a

[3] Lett. 7. p. 281.

deſign to expreſs the great honours the Ægyptians did him in death, as well as in life, being treated after the moſt ſumptuous manner of the Ægyptians, *embalmed, and put into a coffin.*

Agreeably to this, the Septuagint verſion, (which was made for Ægyptians,) ſeems to repreſent coffins as *a mark of grandeur*, Job xxi. 32.

It is no objection to this account, that the widow of Naim's ſon is repreſented as carried forth to be buried in a Σορος, for the preſent inhabitants of the Levant, who are well known to lay their dead in the earth uninclоſed, carry them frequently out to burial in a kind of coffin: ſo Ruſſell in particular deſcribes the bier uſed for the Turks at Aleppo as a kind of coffin, much in the form of ours, only that the lid riſes with a ledge in the middle[4]. Chriſtians indeed, that ſame author tells us, are carried to the grave on an open bier[5]; but as the moſt common kind of bier there very much reſembles our coffins, that uſed by the people of Naim might very poſſibly be of the ſame kind, in which caſe the word Σορος was very proper.

XLII. Observation LX.

If the uſe of a coffin in burial was doing a particular honour to the dead, the *embalming* them alſo certainly was; and the diſſerta-

[4] P. 115. [5] P. 130.

tions

tions of the late Dr. Ward, publiſhed ſoon after his death, have given occaſion to the annexing this Obſervation to the reſt of this chapter. The Doctor ſuppoſes the Jewiſh method of embalming was very different from the Ægyptian, and that this appeared by ſeveral paſſages of the New Teſtament. Both, he thinks, ſwathed up their dead; but inſtead of the Ægyptian *embowelling*, he ſuppoſes the Jews contented themſelves with an *external unction*; and that, inſtead of myrrh and caſia, they made uſe of myrrh and aloes; to which he adds the ſuppoſition, that St. John might mention the circumſtance of our Lord's embalming, the better to obviate the falſe report that then prevailed among the Jews, that the body of our Lord had been ſtolen away in the night by his diſciples, for the linen, he ſuppoſes, could not have been taken from the body and head, in the manner in which it was found in the ſepulchre, on account of its clinging ſo faſt from the viſcous nature of theſe drugs, had they been ſo fooliſh as to attempt it.

The modern Eaſtern method, the modern Ægyptian method, of applying odours to the dead, certainly differs from that which was anciently made uſe of in that country. The preſent way in Ægypt, according to Maillet[1], is to waſh the body divers times with roſe-water, which, he elſewhere obſerves, is there much more fragrant than with us; they afterwards

[1] Lett. 10. p. 88.

perfume

perfume it with incenſe, aloes, and a quantity of other odours, of which they are by no means ſparing; they after that bury the body in a winding-ſheet, made partly of ſilk, and partly of cotton, and moiſtened (as I imagine, with ſome ſweet-ſcented water, or liquid perfume, though Maillet only uſes the ſimple term moiſtened); this they cover with another cloth of unmixed cotton; to which they add one of the richeſt ſuits of clothes of the deceaſed. The expenſe, he ſays, on theſe occaſions, is very great, though nothing like what the genuine embalmings of former times coſt.

The modern Ægyptian way of embalming then, if it may be called by that name, differs very much from the ancient; whether the Jewiſh method in the time of our Lord differed as *much*, or how far, I know not. To paſs by the difference Dr. Ward has remarked *between their drugs*, the Ægyptians uſing myrrh and caſia, and the Jews myrrh and aloes, which might be only in appearance, ſince more than two ſorts might be uſed by both nations, though theſe only happened to be diſtinctly mentioned, it doth not appear ſo plain to me as to the Doctor, that the Jews were not wont to *embowel* their dead in embalming. Their hope of a reſurrection did not *neceſſarily* prevent this. And as all *other nations* ſeem to have embalmed exactly according to the Ægyptian manner, the ſame cauſes that induced them to do ſo,

pro-

probably occaſioned the Jews not to vary from them in this reſpect. So the accurate editor of the Ruins of Palmyra tells us [2], they diſcovered that the inhabitants of that city uſed to embalm their dead; and that upon comparing the linen, the manner of ſwathing, the balſam, and other parts of the Mummies of Egypt, (in which country they had been a few months before,) with thoſe of Palmyra, they found their method of embalming exactly the ſame. Zenobia, whoſe ſeat of government Palmyra was, was originally a native of Ægypt, this writer obſerves; but then he remarks that theſe bodies were embalmed before her time. So that paſſage which *the Doctor* cites [3] from Tacitus, concerning Poppæa, the wife of Nero, ſuppoſes it was the *common* ancient cuſtom to fill the body with drugs, and not merely apply them externally, *Corpus non igni abolitum, ut Romanus mos; ſed* Regum exterorum conſuetudine DIFFERTUM odoribus *conditur*. Her body, that is, was not conſumed by fire according to the Roman manner, but was buried, after having been *ſtuffed* with odours, after the way of foreign princes, not merely of the Ægyptian, but of thoſe that practiſed burying in general, it ſeems.

It doth not however follow from hence that our Lord was embowelled, though St. John ſays, he was buried with ſpices *as the manner of the Jews was to bury* [4]; for theſe

[2] P. 22. [3] P. 143. [4] John 19. 40.

words

words do not neceſſarily ſignify, that all was done that was wont to be done in thoſe caſes among the Jews. The contrary appears to be *fact*, from the farther preparations the women made, who were not, I imagine, unacquainted with what had been done, though Dr. Ward ſuppoſes the contrary; ſince St. Luke expreſſly telleth us, that the "women, "which came with him from Galilee, fol-"lowed after, and beheld the ſepulchre, and "*how* his body was laid.[5]"

If indeed this be admitted, the Doctor's thought concerning the difficulty of taking off the bandages, beſmeared with very glutinous drugs, will appear to be ill-founded, for in that caſe the women could have done nothing more as to the embalming him. That thought indeed ſeems to have made all the impreſſion on the Doctor's mind, that the force of novelty, it might be expected, ſhould give it; but as aloes and myrrh do not appear to have that very glutinous quality the Doctor ſuppoſed, ſo a much more obvious account may be given of St. John's making mention of a circumſtance about which the other Evangeliſts are ſilent—He appears to have publiſhed his hiſtory for the uſe of perſons leſs acquainted with the cuſtoms of the Eaſt, than thoſe for whoſe information the others immediately wrote. The Doctor himſelf has remarked, in the 32d Diſſertation, that in giving an account of

[5] Luke 23. 55.

the

the circumſtances of the death of our Lord, St. John has reckoned the hours after the manner of the Romans, whereas the other Evangeliſts ſpeak according to the Jewiſh method of computation; the ſame reaſon that induced him to do that, naturally led him to ſay to thoſe who were wont *to burn* their dead, that our Lord was *buried, with ſpices*, which was *in general* the Jewiſh method of diſpoſing of their dead, which he might very well do, though the ſtraitneſs of the time did occaſion ſome deviation from what they commonly practiſed.

Which ſhortneſs of time, we may believe, prevented them alſo from ſwathing him with that *accuracy* and *length of bandage* they would otherwiſe have uſed: the Ægyptians, we are told, have uſed above a thouſand ells of filletting about a body, *beſides what was wrapped about the head.* Thevenot found it ſo, he informs us[4], in a Mummy which he examined. The Jews, it is reaſonable to believe, ſwathed them in *ſomething* of the ſame form, which could not have been nicely performed in ſuch an hurry as the diſciples were then in, [though not exactly after the Ægyptian manner: for the head not only of our Lord, but of Lazarus, was ſimply bound about with a napkin[5]; which Chardin tells us, in his MS, is uſed by the Mahometans at this very time.

[4] Part 1. p. 137. [5] John 11. 44.

And as the Jewiſh manner, of covering the head of a corpſe, more reſembled the preſent Eaſtern managements than the ancient Ægyptian, perhaps the reſt of their grave-clothes did ſo too: they now, Dr. Perry tells us [6], wrap up the body in two, three, or more different ſorts of ſtuff, according to the circumſtances of the deceaſed; if the Jews did ſo too, the ſpices thoſe good women prepared might be deſigned to be placed between the outer and inner wrappers, the ointment for the head [7].]

What Joſeph and Nicodemus did with the mixture of myrrh and aloes, doth not appear. Dr. Lardner ſuppoſes they might poſſibly form a bed of ſpices [8]. But with reſpect to the quantity, which he tells us, from Biſhop Kidder, a modern Jew has made an objection againſt the hiſtory of the New Teſtament, affirming that it was enough for two hundred dead bodies, (which is ſaying, in other words, that half a pound of theſe drugs is ſufficient to embalm a ſingle body,) I would obſerve that our Engliſh ſurgeons require a much larger quantity of drugs for embalming; and in a receipt, which I have ſeen, of a very eminent one, the weight of the drugs employed is above one third of the weight Nicodemus brought.

[6] P. 247. [7] Matt. 26. (7, 12,) intimates that the anointing the head with ointment, was one thing attending a Jewiſh burial. [8] Cred. of the Goſp. Hiſt. book 1. chap. 7. § 17.

Much

Much leſs indeed would be wanted where the body is not embowelled, but even the cerate, or drugs uſed externally in our embalmings, is one ſeventh of the weight, I find, of the myrrh and aloes that were brought for embalming our Lord. However, be this as it may, as it appears from what Joſephus ſays of the funeral of Ariſtobulus, the laſt of the High-prieſts of the family of the Maccabees, that *the larger the quantity of the ſpices* uſed in their interments, *the greater honour was thought to be done to the dead*[9], we may eaſily account for the quantity Nicodemus brought *in general*, though we may not be able to tell, with the preciſion that could be wiſhed, how it was diſpoſed of. Dr. Lardner has not, I think, mentioned this paſſage; but it entirely anſwers the objection of this Jew.

[A paſſage from Drummond's Travels ought not to be omitted here, in which he gives us an account of the manner in which a large quantity of ſpices and perfumes was made uſe of, to do honour to the dead. It ſeems, according to a tradition that prevailed among the Turks, *An eminent prophet, who lived in Meſopotamia many ages ago, whoſe name was Zachariah, was beheaded by the prince of that country, on account of his virtuous oppoſition to ſome lewd ſcheme of his. His head he ordered to be put into a ſtone urn, two feet ſquare, upon the top of which was an inſcrip-*

[9] Antiq. lib. 15. p. 746. ed. Haverc.

tion, importing, that that urn incloſed the head of that great prophet Zachariah. This urn remained in the caſtle of Aleppo, till about eight hundred years ago, when it was removed into an old Chriſtian church in that city, afterwards turned into a moſque, which decaying, another was built near it, and the place where the head was depoſited choaked up by a wall. About forty years before Mr. Drummond wrote this account, (which was in December 1748,) conſequently about the year 1708, *a zealous Grand Vizier, who pretended to have been admoniſhed in a dream to remove this ſtone veſſel into a more conſpicuous place, had it removed accordingly, with many religious ceremonies, and affixed in a conſpicuous part of a moſque:* and in the cloſe of all it is ſaid, "the urn was "opened, and filled with ſpices and per-"fumes to the value of four hundred "pounds [10]".

Here we ſee in late times honour was done to the ſuppoſed head of an eminent ſaint, *by filling its repoſitory with odoriferous ſubſtances.* The *bed* of ſweet odours in which Aſa was laid [11] ſeems to have been of the ſame kind, or ſomething very much like it. Might not large quantities of precious perfumes in like manner be ſtrewed, or deſigned to be ſtrewed, about the body of our Lord? This would require large quantities.

Zachariah of Meſopotamia had been dead ſo long, that nothing of this kind could be

[10] P. 237, 238. [11] 2 Chron. 16. 14.

done

done with any view to preſerve his head from decay, it was merely to do him honour: the ſpices uſed by the Jews in burial might be for the ſame purpoſe.

Observation LXI.

Sir John Chardin, in his MS [1], gives us an account of a very *whimſical* honour paid the Perſian Princes after their deaths—the driving their phyſicians and aſtrologers from court. This he ſuppoſes to be of great antiquity, and to have been the cauſe of Daniel's abſence, when Belſhazzar ſaw the hand, writing his doom on the wall, which writing no body that was then with him could explain.

Daniel was not, it is certain, only *occaſionally* abſent from this ſolemnity, which was managed in a manner affronting to the God of Iſrael [2]; for it appears from ver. 13, that he was not at all *perſonally* known to Belſhazzar. This has been ſuppoſed to have been owing to his having been a *vicious and a weak* prince; Chardin ſuppoſes, on the other hand, that the ceremonial of the Perſian court required it. The firſt reaſon hardly accounts for his abſence, ſince weak and vicious as he might be, Nitocris his mother, who appears to have been no ſtranger to the great abilities of Daniel, who is ſaid to have been a lady of great wiſdom, and

[1] Note on Dan. 5. 11. [2] V. 2—4.

who is believed to have had the chief management of affairs, might have employed Daniel in matters of ſtate, which *in all probability*, conſidering his eminence, would have made him known to the king: he did not however know him; ſhe did not therefore employ Daniel. But whether for the reaſon aſſigned by Sir John, is another conſideration.

If that really was the reaſon, Daniel's retirement from the management of affairs of ſtate muſt have been of long continuance, (23 years, according to Dr. Prideaux,) for it muſt have commenced at the death of Nebuchadnezzar.

Be this as it may, it is ſo extraordinary an uſage, that it deſerves a place in theſe papers. *I collect from hence*, ſays Sir John, that is, from the queen-mother's recommending to Belſhazzar to conſult Daniel, *that Daniel had been* mazouled [3] *at the death of the king: for in the Eaſt, when the king dies, the phyſicians and aſtrologers are diſplaced; the firſt for not having driven away death, and the other for not having predicted it.* This the 13th verſe confirms.

[3] An Eaſtern term, ſignifying diſplaced, uſed by Dr. Perry, in his View of the Levant, p. 41, &c. Sir J. Chardin's words are. Je receuille de la que Daniel avait eſté mazoul a la mort du roy car en orient, quand le roy meurt, les medecins & les aſtrologues ſont chaſſez les uns pour n'avoir chaſſé la mort, les autres pour ne l'avoir preditte. C'eſt ce que le v. 13 confirme. Tu es Daniel &c?

Curious

Curious etiquette this! Upon this principle Daniel certainly deſerved to be re-inſtated in his office, ſince he predicted now the death of Belſhazzar. However, whatever was the ground of their procedure, *Belſhazzar* made him the third ruler in the kingdom, Dan. v. 29; and under *Darius the Mede* the Prophet made a diſtinguiſhed figure at court, Dan. vi. 1—3.

According to this the life of Daniel was extremely *variegated:* a large part of it ſpent in conducting affairs of ſtate; a conſiderable portion of it in a devout retirement—in reading, meditation, and prayer. He practiſed theſe things when involved in the hurry of public buſineſs [4]; certainly therefore when diſengaged from affairs of ſtate.]

CHAP. VII.

Concerning their Books.

OBSERVATION I.

THERE is a diſtinction made, in that paſſage of the book of Job which I was conſidering under the fifty-eighth Obſervation of the preceding chapter, relating to the *writing* of words, and *writing them in a book*, that I never ſaw remarked, though it ſeems to me that a very clear account of it may be given.

[4] Dan. 9. 2, 3.

" O that my words were now written! " O that they were printed in a book! That " they were graven in the rock for " ever[1]!" There is a *way of writing* in the Eaſt which is deſigned to fix words on the memory, but the writing is not deſigned to continue. The children in Barbary that are ſent to ſchool make no uſe of paper, Dr. Shaw tells us[2], but each boy writes on a ſmooth thin board, ſlightly daubed over with whiting, which may be wiped off, or renewed at pleaſure[3]; and it ſeems they learn to read, to write, and to get their leſſons by heart, all at the ſame time: *O that my words then*, ſays Job, *might not be, like many of thoſe of the miſerable, immediately loſt, in inattention or forgetfulueſs, but that they were written in order to be fixed in the memory!* There are few,

[1] Job 19. 23, 24. [2] P. 194. [3] Dr. Pococke repreſents the Coptis, who are uſed by the great men of Ægypt for keeping their accounts, &c, as making uſe of a ſort of paſte-board for that purpoſe, from which the writing is wiped off from time to time with a wet ſpunge, the pieces of paſte-board being uſed as ſlates. Vol. 1. p. 191. [Peter della Valle obſerved a more inartificial way ſtill of writing ſhort-lived memorandums in India, where he beheld children *writing their leſſons with their fingers on the ground, the pavement being for that purpoſe ſtrewed all over with very fine ſand. When the pavement was full, they put the writing out; and, if need were, ſtrewed new ſand, from a little heap they had before them wherewith to write farther*, p. 40. One would be tempted to think the Prophet Jeremiah had this way of writing in view, when he ſays of them that depart from God, they *ſhall be written in the earth*, chap. 17. 13. Certainly it means in general *ſoon to be blotted out, and forgotten*, as is apparent from Pſ. 69. 28, Ezek. 13. 9.]

Shaw

Shaw ſays, that *retain* what they have learned in their youth; doubtleſs things were often wiped out of the memory of the Arabs in the days of Job, as well as out of their writing-tables, as it now often happens in Barbary: Job therefore goes on, and ſaith, *O that they were written in a book*, from whence they ſhould not be blotted out! So in conformity to this, Moſes ſpeaks of writing things *for a memorial* in a book. But books were *liable to injuries*; therefore Jeremiah commanded, that the book that contained the purchaſe he made of ſome lands in Judæa, juſt before the captivity, ſhould be put into an earthen veſſel, that it might continue many days, Jer. xxxii. 12. 14: and for this reaſon alſo Job wiſhes his words might be even *graven in a rock*, the moſt laſting way of all, and much more effectual to perpetuate them than a book. Thus the diſtinction betwixt *writing* and *writing in a book* becomes perfectly ſenſible, and the gradation appears in its beauty, which is loſt in our tranſlation: where the word printed is introduced, which, beſides its impropriety, conveys no idea of the meaning of Job, records that are deſigned to laſt long not being diſtinguiſhed from leſs durable papers by being printed.

OBSER-

Observation II.

As to the *form* of their books, and the *materials* of which they were compoſed, I have nothing conſiderable to offer. Some things, however, relating to the laſt of theſe, ſhould be taken notice of.

That their books were rolled up, inſtead of opening in the manner ours do[1], in the time of our Lord, appears from ſome remains of antiquity; that they were of the ſame form much more anciently, we learn from Jer. xxxvi. 2. Pſ. xl. 7, &c: this circumſtance has been often remarked, and for that reaſon I paſs it over with barely mentioning it.

The *materials* of which their books were compoſed, is that which is rather to be conſidered, and is what this Obſervation is deſigned a little to enquire into. The ancient Ægyptian books were made of the papyrus, a ſort of bulruſh of that country, according to Dean Prideaux[2], which roſe up to a conſiderable height, and whoſe ſtalk was co-

[1 Sir J. Chardin, in a MS. note on Iſ. 8. 1, tells us, *the Eaſtern people roll their papers, and do not fold them, becauſe their paper is apt to fret.* This Obſervation may account for that inconvenient way, ſo long retained, of rolling up their writings. The Ægyptian papyrus was much made uſe of; the brittle nature of it made it proper to roll up what they wrote; and it having been cuſtomary to roll up their books, &c, many continued the practice when they uſed other materials, which might very ſafely have been treated in a different manner.] [2] Connection of the Hiſt. of the O. and N. Teſt. part 1. book 7.

vered

vered with ſeveral films, or inner ſkins, on which they wrote. Maillet gives a different account of the papyrus[3]. But be this as it will, we are told the uſe of the papyrus for theſe purpoſes was not found out, till the building of Alexandria[4]: the rolls then that are mentioned in the Prophets were not formed of this plant; for Alexander the Great, the founder of that city, lived after the prophetic times. The art of engraving on ſtones and metals was very ancient, as old at leaſt as the days of Moſes, as appears from Exod. xxviii. 11, 36, but theſe ancient books were not formed of tablets of ſtone, or plates of metal, ſince they were *rolled up*, it ſeems; beſides which, we find that the book which Baruch wrote, from the lips of Jeremiah, was *cut in pieces* by king Jehoiakim, with a *pen-knife*, and thoſe pieces *thrown into the fire* which was burning on the hearth before him, Jer. xxxvi. 23, which liableneſs to being *cut*, and *conſumed in the fire*, determines that they were neither of ſtone, nor of metal.

Parchment, Dr. Prideaux ſhews in the ſame place in which he ſpeaks of the papyrus, was a later invention than the Ægyptian paper, and therefore one would imagine could not have been the material of which the old Jewiſh books were formed, which yet the Dean ſuppoſes, imagining that if Eumenes of Pergamus was the firſt *among the*

[3] Lett. 9. p. 19.

[4] See Prideaux's Conn. in the above-cited place.

Greeks

Greeks that uſed parchment, he could not however have been the inventor of it, ſince the Jews long before had rolls of writing, and who, ſays he, can doubt, but that theſe rolls were of parchment? He goes on, "and "it muſt be acknowledged, that the au- "thentic copy of the law, which Hilkiah "found in the temple, and ſent to king Jo- "ſiah, was of this material, none other "uſed for writing, excepting parchment "only, being of ſo durable a nature as to "laſt from Moſes's time till then, (which "was eight hundred and thirty years.") But is this reaſoning demonſtrative? The very old Ægyptians uſed to write *on linen*, things which they deſigned ſhould laſt long; and thoſe characters continue to this day, as we are aſſured by thoſe that have examined mummies with attention. So Maillet tells us, that the filletting, or rather the bandage, (for it was of a conſiderable breadth,) of a mummy which was preſented to him, and which he had opened in the houſe of the Capuchin Monks of Cairo, was not only charged from one end to the other with hieroglyphical figures, *but they alſo found certain unknown characters, written from the right-hand towards the left, and forming a kind of verſes. Theſe he ſuppoſed contained the Eulogium of the perſon whoſe this body was, written in the language which was uſed in Ægypt in the time in which ſhe lived. That ſome part of this writing was afterwards copied by an engraver*

graver in France, and these papers sent to the Virtuosi through Europe, that if possible they might decypher them; but in vain[5]. Might not a copy of the Law of Moses, written after this manner, have lasted eight hundred and thirty years? Is it unnatural to imagine that Moses, who was learned in all the arts of Ægypt, wrote after this manner on linen? And doth not this supposition perfectly well agree with the accounts we have of the form of their books—their being rolls[6]? and of their being easily cut in pieces with a knife, and liable to be burnt? The old Jewish books *might* indeed be written on other materials; but these considerations are sufficient to engage us to think, that their being written on parchment is not so *indubitable* as the Dean supposes.

The most considerable arguments that Prideaux makes use of, are quotations from Diodorus Siculus and Herodotus, which give an account of the writing on skins by the old Persians and Ionians, long before the time of Eumenes; yet as to this, it is surprizing that he should so confidently suppose those skins must of course be dressed like parchment: it is visible that these skins must have been prepared in a much more clumsy way, and have been very unlike parchment, of which we are assured Eumenes was

[5] Lett. 7. p. 278. [6] For it should seem the linen was first primed, or painted all over, before they began to write, and consequently would have been liable to crack if folded.

the

the inventor, and which, if found out before, would have made the want of the Ægyptian paper no inconvenience to that prince. Such ſkins might do for records, and ſome occaſional writings, but would have been by no means agreeable for books. Is it not then, upon the whole, moſt natural to ſuppoſe the ancient Jews wrote on linen as the Ægyptians did [6]?

If ſo, *ink*, paint, or ſomething of that kind, muſt have been made uſe of, of which,

[6 Among other objections Monſieur Voltaire has made to the *antiquity* of the Pentateuch, in his Raiſon par Alphabet, (ſeconde partie, Art. Moyſe,) of which ſome are amazingly abſurd, one is, that theſe five volumes muſt have been *engraven on poliſhed ſtones*, which would have required *prodigious efforts and length of time*: too great, the inſinuation is, to be credible. "Les Egyptiens ne ſe ſervaient pas encor du papiros; on gravait des hiéroglyphes ſur le marbre ou ſur le bois. Il eſt même dit que les tables des commandemens furent gravées, ſur la pierre. Il aurait donc fallu graver cinq volumes ſur des pierres polies, ce quì demandait des efforts & un tems prodigieux." But were there no other ſubſtances that could be made uſe of but wood or ſtone, before the papyrus was brought into uſe? Could not linen? Do not the mummies inconteſtibly prove it actually was made uſe of before Alexandria was built, conſequently before the papyrus was wont to be written on? What inattention or what fraud (which you pleaſe) muſt this writer have been guilty of, when he ſuppoſes the Pentateuch muſt have been engraven on wood or ſtone, if older than the uſe of the papyrus! How vain the conſequence, that becauſe the ten commands were engraven on ſtone, therefore the whole Pentateuch muſt! Theſe things would have been very ſurprizing in another writer; but the perverſely witty Monſ. Voltaire has ſo habituated us to the expectation of meeting in him with the moſt *groundleſs* aſſertions, urged with confidence and grimace, that we are ſurprized at nothing which we meet with in his writings.]

accord-

accordingly we read Jer. xxxvi. 18. But their *pens* muſt have been very different from ours: accordingly the word which is uſed Judges v. 14. for a pen, *they that handle the pen of the writer*, ſignifies a ſceptre, rod, or branch of a tree, and conſequently may be thought to have much more nearly reſembled the modern pens of Perſia, which are canes or *reeds* [7], their paper not bearing ſuch pens as ours, than the quills we make uſe of. The other Hebrew word we tranſlate pen ſeems preciſely to ſignify a thing with which they lay on colours, and conſequently is equally applicable to a quill, a pencil, or a reed; it is the uſing the other word in poetry, which explains the nature of their pens, of which we might otherwiſe have been ignorant, the proper word for them not at all determining their nature.

Observation III.

Many nice obſervations have been made on the titles of the Pſalms, but attended with the greateſt *uncertainty*. Later Eaſtern cuſtoms, reſpecting the titles of books and poems, may perhaps give a little more *determineteneſs* to theſe matters; but *great* preciſion and poſitiveneſs muſt not be expected.

D'Herbelot telleth us, that a Perſian metaphyſical and myſtic poem was called—the

[7] Olearius, p. 857. See alſo Rauwolff, in Ray's Collection of Travels, p. 87.

Roſe-buſh[1]. A collection of moral eſſays—the Garden of *Anemonies*[2]. Another Eaſtern book—the *Lion of the Foreſt*[3]. That Scherfeddin al Bauſſiri called a poem of his, wrote in praiſe of his Arabian Prophet, who, he affirmed, had cured him of a paralytic diſorder in his ſleep—the *Habit of a Derviſe*[4]; and becauſe he is celebrated there for having given ſight to a blind perſon, this poem is alſo intituled by its author—the *bright ſtar*[5]. Other titles mentioned by him are as odd.

The ancient Jewiſh taſte may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have been of the ſame kind. Agreeable to which is the explanation ſome *learned men* have given, of David's commanding the *bow* to be taught the children of Iſrael, 2 Sam. i. 18, which they apprehended did not relate to the uſe of *that weapon in war*, but to the hymn which he compoſed on occaſion of the death of Saul and Jonathan, and from which he intituled this elegy, as they think, *the bow*.

The twenty-ſecond Pſalm might in like manner be called the *Hind of the Morning*; the fifty-ſixth, the *Dove dumb in diſtant places*; the ſixtieth, the *Lily of the Teſtimony*; the eightieth, the *Lilies of the Teſtimony*, in the plural; and the forty-fifth, ſimply the *Lilies*.

It is ſufficiently evident, I ſhould think, that theſe terms do not denote certain muſical inſtruments. For if they did, why do

[1] P. 407. [2] P. 158. [3] P. 300. [4] A ſort of Mohammedan monk. [5] P. 195. and 211.

the more common names of the timbrel, the harp, the pſaltery, and the trumpet, with which Pſalms were ſung, (Pſ. lxxxi. 2, 3,) never appear in thoſe titles?

Do they ſignify certain tunes? It ought not however to be imagined that theſe tunes are ſo called, from their bearing ſome reſemblance to the noiſes made by the things mentioned in the titles, for Lilies are ſilent, if this ſuppoſition ſhould *otherwiſe* have been allowed with reſpect to the Hind of the Morning. Nor doth the fifty-ſixth Pſalm ſpeak of the *Mourning* of the Dove, but of its *Dumbneſs*.

If they ſignify tunes at all, they muſt ſignify, I ſhould imagine, the tunes to which ſuch ſongs or hymns were ſung, as were diſtinguiſhed by theſe names: and ſo the enquiry will terminate in this point, whether the Pſalms to which theſe titles are affixed, were called by theſe names; or whether they were ſome *other* Pſalms or Songs to the tune of which *theſe* were to be ſung.

And as we do not find the *bow* referred to, nor the *ſame name* twice made uſe of, *ſo far as our lights reach*, it ſhould ſeem *moſt probable* that theſe are the names of *thoſe very Pſalms* to which they are prefixed.

The forty-ſecond Pſalm, it may be thought, might very well have been intituled the *Hind of the Morning*, becauſe, *as that panted after the water-brooks, ſo panted the ſoul of the Pſalmiſt after God*; but the twenty-ſecond

Pſalm, it is certain, might equally well be diſtinguiſhed by this title, *Dogs have compaſſed me, the aſſembly*[6] *of the wicked have incloſed me:* and as the Pſalmiſt did in the forty-ſecond Pſalm rather chooſe to compare himſelf to an *hart* than an *hind*, the twenty-ſecond Pſalm much better anſwers this title, in which he ſpeaks of his hunted ſoul in the *feminine* gender, "Deliver my ſoul from the "ſword, my *darling*" (which in the original is feminine) "from the power of the dog."

Every one that reflects on the circumſtances of David, at the time to which the fifty-ſixth Pſalm refers, and conſiders the Oriental taſte, will not wonder to ſee that Pſalm intituled the *Dove dumb in diſtant places*; nor are *Lilies* more improper to be made the title of other Pſalms, with proper diſtinctions, than a *Garden of Anemonies* to be the name of a collection of moral diſcourſes.

Observation IV.

The works of ſeven of the moſt excellent Arab poets, who flouriſhed before the times of Mohammedaniſm, were called, d'Herbelot obſerves, *Al Moâllacât*, becauſe they were ſucceſſively fixed, by way of honour, to the gate of the temple of Mecca; and alſo Al Modhahebat, which ſignifies gilded, (or *golden,*) becauſe

[6] The huntings of the Eaſtern people, according to Dr. Shaw, are managed by aſſembling great numbers of people, and incloſing the creatures they hunt, p. 235.

they were written in letters of gold upon Ægyptian paper [1]: and d'Herbelot in a ſucceeding page tells us [2], that the Arabs, when they would praiſe any one's poems, *were wont* to ſay, theſe are the golden verſes of ſuch or ſuch an one, which he ſeems to ſuppoſe was derived from the writing of theſe poems in letters of gold.

Might not the ſixtieth Pſalm, and the five others that are diſtinguiſhed by the ſame epithet, be called *golden*, on account of their having been, on ſome occaſion or other, wrote in letters of gold, and hung up in the ſanctuary, or elſewhere? Not, it may be, on account of their being judged to have a ſuperior excellence to the other hymns of this collection, abſolutely ſpeaking, but their being ſuited to ſome particular circumſtances, which might occaſion their being treated with this diſtinction.

Hezekiah, we know, went up to the houſe of the Lord, and ſpread the letter of Sennacherib before him there, Iſ. xxxvii. 14. —hung it up, it may be, before the Lord. What Hezekiah did with a paper of threatening, other princes might do with theſe Pſalms of encouragement and hope.

Some have imagined they were called golden Pſalms *merely* on account of their diſtinguiſhed excellence. That diſtinguiſhed excellence however doth not appear; and what is more, the ancient Jews, it is cer-

[1] P. 586. [2] P. 593.

tain, had a different way of marking this out — The *Song of Songs*, which is Solomon's [3], not the *golden Song* of Solomon.

Ainſworth ſuppoſes the word Michtam ſignifies a golden jewel [4]. That the affixing ſuch a title to a Pſalm, would have been agreeable enough to the Eaſtern taſte anciently, we may believe from what appears in theſe modern times. D'Herbelot has actually mentioned a book, intituled, *Bracelets of Gold*, containing an account of all that hiſtory had mentioned relating to a month ſacred among the Arabs [5]. I cannot, however, *eaſily* admit that this is the true meaning of the word Michtam, becauſe there are ſeveral Pſalms which have this word prefixed to them; whereas, if it ſignified a jewel of gold, it would have been intended, if we may judge by modern titles of Eaſtern books, to have diſtinguiſhed one Pſalm from all the reſt. To which may be added, that ſome of theſe Pſalms have another name given them: the fifty-ſixth being called the *Dove dumb in diſtant places*, and the ſixtieth the *Lily of the Teſtimony*.

I will only farther add, that this writing in *letters of gold* ſtill continues in the Eaſt. "The greateſt part of theſe books," ſays Maillet, ſpeaking of the royal Mohammedan library in Ægypt, which was ſo famous, and was afterwards deſtroyed by Saladine,

[3] Cant. 1. 1. [4] In his Annot. on the ſixteenth Pſalm. [5] P. 714.

" were written in *letters of gold*, ſuch as the " Turks and Arabs, *even of our time*, make " uſe of in the titles of their books [6]." And a little after [7], ſpeaking of the ignorance of the modern Ægyptians as to the burniſhing of gold, ſo that their gilding has nothing of the ancient ſplendor, he adds, " It is true, " to make up this defect, they have pre- " ſerved the art of making gold liquid, and " fit for ink. *I have ſeen ſome of their books* " *written with this gold*, which were ex- " tremely beautiful."

Observation V.

St. John evidently ſuppoſes *paintings*, or *drawings*, in that volume which he ſaw in the viſions of God, and which was ſealed with ſeven ſeals; the firſt figure being that of a man on a white horſe, with a bow in his hand, &c[8]. We expect copper-plates in our printed books, but it may be, never thought of drawings *in a manuſcript*.

The Eaſtern manuſcripts however are not without theſe ornaments. So Olearius, deſcribing the library belonging to the famous ſepulchre of Schich Sefi, ſays, that the manuſcripts are all extremely well written, beautifully bound, and thoſe of hiſtory illuſtrated with many *repreſentations* in miniature [9].

[6] Lett. 13. p. 189. [7] P. 192. [8] Rev. 6. [9] P. 638.

The *more ancient* books of the Eaſt are alſo found to be beautified after this manner: for Dr. Pococke ſpeaks in his Travels of two manuſcripts of the Pentateuch, one in the monaſtery of Patmos, and the other belonging to the Biſhop of Smyrna, adorned with ſeveral paintings, well executed for the time, one of which is ſuppoſed to be above nine hundred years *old*. Such a ſort of book, it ſhould ſeem, was that St. John ſaw in a viſion.

Observation VI.

If they adorn their books ſometimes with *material* paintings, thoſe of the *intellectual* kind are however much more frequent. They continue ſtill, as they were anciently, very bold, but with a coarſeneſs, oftentimes, not very pleaſing to *our* taſte.

The curious have in general long ago remarked this; but as I have met with ſome inſtances of this kind, which may ſerve to illuſtrate ſome paſſages of Scripture more perfectly than I have ſeen them, and as I have alſo obſerved ſome other paſſages of the modern Aſiatic poets, which may throw a light over ſome of thoſe of the ſacred, I will here annex, to the preceding obſervations, a ſhort ſpecimen of thoſe illuſtrations of Holy Writ, which a careful peruſal of the Turkiſh, Perſian, and Arabian poets would ſoon enlarge. Parallel images are often

often introduced into our commentaries on Scripture from the writers of Greece and Rome; extracts from those of Asia would be more *curious*, and, as being more perfectly in the old Jewish taste, would be more *enlightening*.

As to those coarse images I was speaking of, and which this Observation particularly refers to, Hushai's comparing David and his men to a *bear* robbed of her whelps, 2 Sam. xvii. 8, appears to us very odd; but it shocks our delicacy much more, when we find it applied to the Majesty of heaven, Lam. iii. 10.

This is however entirely owing to the difference of the taste of the Europeans from that of the people of the Levant. We in England, when we compare a person to a bear, always have something of a *disagreeable* fierceness, and *aukward* roughness, in view; therefore these paintings give us pain. But though *we do*, the Eastern nations *do not* blend these ideas with those of strength and terribleness in displeasure; that therefore which appears an indecent comparison to us, was none to them, and this image accordingly still continues in use among those people. "Saladine," says Maillet [1], "going one day "from Cairo up to the castle he had built "there, and causing his brother Sirocoé, "who had accompanied him, to take a "view of its works and buildings:" 'This

[1] Lett. 11. p. 106.

'caſtle,' "ſaid he to him," 'and all Æ-
'gypt, will be one day the poſſeſſion of
'your children.' "Sirocoé replying that
"it was wrong to talk after that manner,
"ſince heaven had given him children to
"ſucceed to his crown; Saladine rejoined,"
'*My* children are born in Ægypt, where
'men degenerate, and loſe their ſpirit and
'bravery; but *yours* are born in the moun-
'tains of Circaſſia, of a man that poſſeſſes
'the fierceneſs of *bears*, and *their* courage.'
"The event juſtified the prediction, the
"poſterity of Saladine reigning but a few
"years in Ægypt after the death of that great
"prince."

Here my reader ſees Sirocoé compared to *bears* by an Eaſtern prince, where an Elogium was intended, and not the leaſt diſreſpectful hint deſigned.

The name which an Hivite Prince was called by, according to Gen. xxxiv. 2, is full as groteſque: for Hamor ſignifies an aſs. Such a name would be thought a reproachful one among us, and very unbecoming the dignity of a prince; in the Eaſt they have thought very differently [2]. Mervan, the laſt Khalife

[2] The modern Eaſtern people however, at leaſt ſometimes, ſeem to underſtand it as an affront: ſo Mr. Drummond, in his Travels, repeating the uncomplaiſant anſwer the Turkiſh commander at Beer, in Meſopotamia, returned to their requeſt to ſee the caſtle there, tells us that he aſked, "Do they take me for a child or an aſs's head, that "they would feed me with ſweetmeats, and dupe me with "a bit

Khalife of the Ommiades, was ſurnamed, according to Monſ. d'Herbelot, Hemar, the aſs, and the aſs of Meſopotamia, becauſe of his ſtrength and vigour. And as the wild aſs is ſuppoſed by the Oriental people, to ſurpaſs all other animals in ſwiftneſs, Baharam, King of Perſia, he ſays, was ſurnamed Gour: a word which ſignifies, in the language of that country, a wild aſs [3].

Observation VII.

As to the Aſiatic poets, Aboulfarage Sangiari, a Perſian, who lived at the time of the irruption of the Tartars under Geng-

" a bit of cloth? No! they ſhall not ſee the caſtle, &c." p. 206. I cannot forbear remarking here, that we find an expreſſion ſomething like this in one of the prophetic hiſtorians, 2 Sam. 3. 8: " Then was Abner very wroth for " the words of Iſh-boſheth, and ſaid, Am I a dog's " head? &c." Some learned men, and ſome modern Jewiſh writers, according to Biſhop Patrick, have underſtood this term as ſignifying, *he was treated as if he was captain of a pack of dogs, inſtead of leader of the armies of Iſrael*; but this doth not ſeem to me to be a natural explanation, and this expreſſion of the governor of Beer ſeems much better to illuſtrate the complaint of Abner: " Do " they take me for an aſs's head?" ſeems to mean, *Do they think I am ſtupid as an aſs?* and, " Am I a dog's " head?" ſeems to ſignify, *Am I a dog?* which kind of complaining expoſtulatory expreſſion we meet with elſewhere, 1 Sam. 17. 43. If there is any difference between theſe expreſſions, it ſhould ſeem to be, that as *an aſs's head* apparently means like an aſs with reſpect to *underſtanding*; ſo dog's head ſhould anſwerably ſignify, *Are all my cares for thee of no more value in thine eyes* than thoſe of a dog, *one of the moſt impure and deſpicable of animals, that amuſes thee in hunting for prey?*]

[3] P. 447.

hizkhan,

hizkhan, gives this deſcription of thoſe miſerable days. *It was a time in which the* ſun aroſe in the Weſt. *That all ſort of joy was then baniſhed from the world, and men appeared to be made for no other end but ſuffering. In all the countries through which I have paſſed, I either found no body at all, or met only with diſtreſſed wretches*[1]. Juſt ſo the Prophet Amos threatened, that God would make the *ſun to go down at noon*, and would *darken* the earth in a clear day; that he would turn their feaſts into mourning, and their ſongs into lamentation, &c, ch. viii. 9, 10.

The ſun's *going down at noon*, and its *riſing in the Weſt*, are different expreſſions indeed, but they are of the ſame import, and ſerve to illuſtrate one another: for they both ſignify how extremely ſhort their time of proſperity would be, how unexpectedly it would terminate, and for how long a time it would be ſucceeded by ſuffering, of which darkneſs was often made the emblem.

Observation VIII.

The Prophet Ezekiel has theſe words in his twentieth chapter: "Say to the foreſt "of the South, hear the word of the Lord, "thus ſaith the Lord God, Behold I will "kindle a *fire* in thee, and it ſhall devour "every *green tree*, and every *dry tree*: the "flaming fire ſhall not be quenched, and

[1] D'Herbelot, p. 25.

"all

" all faces from the South to the North " ſhall be burnt therein :" this may be paralleled by a paſſage of a modern writer.

Upon receiving this meſſage from God, the Prophet obſerves that the people were ready to ſay, his meſſages were parables, ver. 49. Whether this declaration of God was really as hard to be underſtood by them as a parable, I ſhall not take upon me to ſay; but d'Herbelot [1] hath given us a paſſage of a Perſian poet, deſcribing the deſolation made by a peſtilence [2], whoſe terms very much reſemble the words of the Prophet.

" The peſtilence, like an avenging *fire*,
" ruins at once this beautiful city,
" whoſe territory gives an odour ſur-
" paſſing that of the moſt excellent
" perfumes.
" Of all its inhabitants, there remains
" neither a young man nor an old:
" This was a lightning that falling up-
" on a *foreſt*, conſumed there the *green*
" *wood with the dry*."

So the *peſtilence* and *coals of fire* are mentioned together in the ſame verſe of the Prophet Habakkuk, " Before him went the *peſti-* " *lence*, and *burning coals* went forth at his " feet," ch. iii. 5.

[1] P. 330. [2] This peſtilence entirely ruined the city of Aſterabad, in the time of a Prince who died in the year of our Lord 997. Voy d'Herbelot, p. 140.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Obſervations relating to the Natural, Civil, and Military State of Judæa.

OBSERVATION I.

NAtural philoſophers often make mention of water-ſpouts, which are moſt ſurprizing appearances; but *hardly any* of the commentators, that I have obſerved, ſpeak of them, though our tranſlators have uſed the term, Pſ. xlii. 7, and the Pſalmiſt ſeems to be directly deſcribing thoſe phænomena, and painting a ſtorm at ſea. And *none of them*, I think, take notice of the *frequency* of them on the Jewiſh coaſt, and conſequently that it was natural for a Jewiſh poet to mention them, in the deſcription of a violent and *dangerous* ſtorm.

That this however is the fact, we learn from Dr. Shaw, who tells us, that water-ſpouts are *more frequent* near the Capes of *Latikea*, *Greego*, and *Carmel*, than in any other part of the Mediterranean [1]. Theſe are all places on the coaſt of Syria, and the laſt of them every body knows in Judæa, it being a place rendered famous by the prayers of the Prophet Elijah. The Jews then could not be ignorant of what fre-

[1] P. 333.

quently

quently happened on their coaſts, and David muſt have known of theſe dangers of the ſea, if he had not actually ſeen ſome of them, as Dr. Shaw did. Strange then! ſince this is the caſe, that commentators ſhould ſpeak of theſe water-ſpouts as only meaning vehement rains [2]; or that any ſhould imagine that he compares his afflictions to the pouring of water through the ſpouts of an houſe, as Bythner ſeems to do in his Lyra, when they have nothing to do with a ſtorm at ſea, which the Pſalmiſt is evidently deſcribing.

Others have remarked that theſe ſpouts are often ſeen in the Mediterranean, but I do not remember to have ſeen it any where remarked, before I read Dr. Shaw, that they are *more* frequent on the Syrian and Jewiſh coaſts, than any other part of this ſea; and as the Doctor has not applied the obſervation to the explaining any part of Scripture, I thought it was right to take notice of it in theſe papers, and as it belongs to the natural hiſtory of Judæa, it comes into this chapter.

Observation II.

The land of Iſrael is called by the Prophet Iſaiah, chap. v. 1, *A vineyard in the horn of the ſon of oil.* That curious expoſitor Vitringa ſeems to ſuppoſe it is ſo repreſented on account of its height; and ſuch ſeems to have been the thought of our tranſ-

[2] Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

lators;

lators, for they render the words, *A vineyard in a very fruitful hill.* Hills are undoubtedly the proper places for planting vineyards [1]; and God might juſtly upbraid Iſrael with the *goodneſs of the country* in which he had placed them, its mountains themſelves being very fertile: but if that was the ſole intention, is it not ſomewhat ſtrange that the Prophet ſhould, on this occaſion, uſe an expreſſion ſo *extremely* figurative? eſpecially as the ſame Prophet elſewhere often ſpeaks of the hills with ſimplicity.

I will not deny, that it is agreeable enough to the Eaſtern ſtyle, to expreſs an hill by the term *horn:* for the ſuppoſition of Biſhop Pococke [2] ſeems to be by no means unnatural, who tells us, that there is a low mountain in Galilee, which hath both its ends raiſed in ſuch a manner as to look like two mounts, which are called the *Horns of Hutin*; and, as he thinks, from this circumſtance, and the village of Hutin's being underneath it. But then it is to be remembered, that the term *horn* may equally well at leaſt be underſtood in a different ſenſe: ſo Sir John Chardin informs us, that a *long ſtrip of land*, that runs out into the Caſpian ſea, is called the *middle-ſized horn* [3]; and ſo d'Herbelot tells us, that the place where one of the branches of the Euphrates falls into the Tigris, is called the *horn* [4]. By the horn

[1] Shaw, p. 338. [2] Vol. 2. p. 67. [3] In his account of the coronation of Solyman III. p. 154. [4] P. 353.

then

then of the ſon of oil the Prophet might mean Syria, which is bordered on one ſide by the ſea, and on the other by a moſt barren deſert, and ſtretches out from its baſe to the ſouth *like an horn*; and ſo theſe words will be a geographic deſcription of Judæa of the *poetic kind*, repreſenting it as ſeated in particular in the fertile country of Syria, rather than in a general and indeterminate way, as ſituated in a fertile hill.

The propriety of deſcribing Syria as a country of oil, no one will, I ſuppoſe, conteſt, as we find that oil was wont anciently to be carried from thence to Ægypt, Hoſ. xii. 1; and as we find the celebrated Croiſade hiſtorian, William of Tyre, deſcribing Syria Sobal as all thick-ſet with olive-trees, ſo as to make prodigious woods that covered the whole country, affording its inhabitants in thoſe times, as they did their predeceſſors, a livelihood, and the deſtruction of which muſt have been their ruin [5].

Observation III.

[This leads us to conſider with attention, the deſcription that is given of the *plenty* of the country God gave Iſrael. "The Lord "thy God bringeth thee into a good land, "a land of brooks of water, of fountains, "and depths, that ſpring out of valleys and "hills. A land of wheat, and barley, and

[5] P. 893.

"vines,

" vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates, " a land of oil-olive" (or, " of the olive- " tree of oil," according to the margin,) " and honey," &c. Deut. viii. 7, 8.

I would ſet down paſſages illuſtrating this deſcription, juſt as they occur in writers, who have incidentally had occaſion to mention matters of this ſort.

Haſſelquiſt tells us [1], that he eat *olives* at Joppa, (upon his firſt arrival in the Holy-Land,) *which were ſaid to grow on the Mount of Olives, near Jeruſalem; and that, independent of their holineſs, they were of the* beſt kind *he had taſted in the Levant.* As *olives* are frequently eaten in their repaſts, the delicacy of this fruit in Judæa ought not to be forgotten; the *oil* that is gotten from theſe trees much leſs, becauſe ſtill more often made uſe of. In the progreſs of his journey he found ſeveral fine vales abounding with *olive-trees.* He ſaw alſo olive-trees in Galilee, but none farther, he ſays, than the mountain where it is ſuppoſed our Lord preached his ſermon [2].

The *fig-trees,* in the neighbourhood of Joppa, *Haſſelquiſt* goes on to inform us, were as beautiful as any he had ſeen in the Levant [3].

The reaſon why *pomegranates* are diſtinctly mentioned, in this deſcription of the productions of the Land of Promiſe, I have had

[1] P. 117. [2] P. 159. [3] P. 119.

occaſion

occaſion to point out under a preceding Obſervation.

Honey is uſed in large quantities in theſe countries; and *Ægypt* was celebrated, it ſeems, for the aſſiduity with which the people there managed their bees. Maillet's account of it is very amuſing[4]. "There are *abundance of bees* in that country," he tells us; "and a ſingular manner of feeding them, "introduced by the Ægyptians of ancient "times, ſtill continues there. Towards the "end of October, when the Nile, upon its "decreaſe, gives the peaſants an opportunity "of ſowing the lands, ſainfoin is one of the "firſt things ſown, and one of the moſt "profitable. As the Upper Ægypt is hotter "than the Lower, and the inundation there "goes ſooner off the lands, the ſainfoin ap-"pears there firſt. The knowledge they "have of this, cauſes them to ſend their "beehives from all parts of Ægypt, that "the bees may enjoy, as ſoon as may be, the "richneſs of the flowers, which grow in "this part of the country ſooner than in "any other diſtrict of the kingdom. The "hives, upon their arrival at the farther "end of Ægypt, are placed one upon an-"other in the form of pyramids, in boats "prepared for their reception; after having "been numbered by the people, who place "them in the boats. The bees feed in the "fields there for ſome days; afterwards,

[4] Lett. 9. p. 24, 25.

" when it is believed they have nearly col-
" lected the honey and wax, which were to
" be found for two or three leagues round,
" they cauſe the boats to go down ſtream,
" two or three leagues lower, and leave
" them there, in like manner, ſuch a pro-
" portion of time as they think to be neceſ-
" ſary for the gathering up the riches of
" that canton. At length, about the be-
" ginning of February, after having gone
" the whole length of Ægypt, they arrive
" at the ſea, from whence they are con-
" ducted, each of them, to their uſual
" place of abode. For they take care to
" ſet down exactly in a regiſter each diſtrict,
" from whence the hives were carried in the
" beginning of the ſeaſon, their number,
" and the names of the perſons that ſent
" them, as well as the number of the boats,
" where they are ranged according to the
" places they are brought from. What is
" aſtoniſhing in this affair is, that with the
" greateſt fidelity of memory that can be
" imagined, each bee finds its own hive,
" and never makes any miſtake. That
" which is ſtill more amazing to me is, that
" Ægyptians, of old, ſhould be ſo atten-
" tive to all the advantages deducible from
" the ſituation of their country; that after
" having obſerved that all things came to
" maturity ſooner in Upper Ægypt, and
" much later in the Lower, which made a
" a difference of above ſix weeks between

" the

" the two extremities of their country, they " thought of collecting the wax and the " honey, so as to lose none of them; and " hit upon this ingenious method of making " the bees do it successively, according to " the blossoming of the flowers, and the " arrangement of nature."

If this solicitude was as ancient as the *dwelling of Israel in Ægypt*, they must have been anxious to know whether *honey*, about which they took such care in Ægypt, was plentiful in the Land of Promise; and they must have been pleased to be assured it was. It continues to be produced there in large quantities: *Hasselquist*, in the progress of his journey from Acra to Nazareth, tells us, that he found " *great numbers of bees*, bred thereabouts, *to the great advantage of the in-* " *habitants.*" He adds, *they make their bee-hives, with little trouble, of clay, four feet long, and half a foot in diameter*, as in Ægypt. *They lay ten or twelve of them, one on another, on the bare ground, and build over every ten a little roof* [5]. Mr. Maundrell observing also many bees in the Holy Land, takes notice, that by their means the most barren places of that country in other respects became useful, *perceiving in many places of the great salt-plain near Jericho, a smell of honey and wax as strong as if he had been in an Apiary* [6].

By Hasselquist's account it appears, that the present inhabitants of Palæstine are no

[5] P. 153, 154. [6] P. 66, & 86.

ſtrangers to the uſe of *hives*. They are conſtructed of very different materials from ours, but juſt the ſame with the Ægyptian hives. They ſhould ſeem to be an ancient contrivance; and indeed ſo ſimple an invention muſt be ſuppoſed to be as old as the days of Moſes, when arts, as appears from his writings, of a much more elevated nature were known in Ægypt. I cannot then well perſuade myſelf to adopt that opinion of ſome of the learned[7], that thoſe words of Moſes in Deut. xxxii. 13, "He made "him to ſuck honey *out of the rock*, and oil "out of the flinty rock," are to be underſtood of his cauſing Iſrael to dwell in a country, where ſometimes they might find honeycomb in holes of the rock. It is very poſſible, that in that hot country, theſe inſects, when not taken due care of, may get into hollow places of the rocks, and form combs there, as they ſometimes conſtruct them in ours in hollow trees, though I do not remember to have met with any traveller that has made ſuch an obſervation. But would this have been mentioned with ſo much triumph by Moſes in this place? The *quantities* of honey produced after this manner could be but *ſmall*, compared with what would be collected in hives properly managed; when found, it muſt often coſt a great deal of pains to get the honey out of theſe *little ca-*

[7] See Biſhop Patrick on the place, and Dr. Shaw's Travels, p. 338.

vities in the hard ſtone, and much the greateſt part muſt be abſolutely loſt to the inhabitants. The interpretation is the more ſtrange, becauſe when it is ſaid in the next clauſe, "and oil out of the flinty rock," it is evidently meant, that they ſhould have oil, produced in abundance by olive-trees growing on flinty rocks; and conſequently the ſucking honey out of the rock ſhould only mean, their enjoying great quantities of honey, produced by bees that collected it from flowers *growing among the rocks*: the *rocky mountains* of this country, it is well known [8], produce an abundance of aromatic plants proper for the purpoſe [9].

Nor doth *Aſaph*, in the cloſe of the eighty-firſt Pſalm, ſpeak, I apprehend, of honey found in cavities of rocks; nor yet is he there deſcribing it as collected from the

[8] Dr. Shaw, in the ſame place; Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2. p. 13, mention their finding odoriferous herbs in great numbers, along with olive-trees, on Mount Carmel. [9] I have indeed read an account ſomewhere concerning the Cape of Good-Hope, that they have bees there, but do not trouble themſelves to hive them, the Hottentots furniſhing them at an eaſy rate with rock-honey, which has a *better flavour* than that of the hive. If this account be *exact*, it does not follow that this ever was the caſe in Palæſtine: the preſent inhabitants are too indolent to give themſelves the trouble of making hives, if they could be furniſhed with ſufficient quantities out of the rocks, eaſy to be come at, and at the ſame time better taſted than the honey of a hive; but we find by Haſſelquiſt that they actually make uſe of hives at this day, though of a very different conſtruction from thoſe of our country.

odoriferous plants that grow in the rocky hills of thoſe countries, if the reading of our preſent Hebrew copies be right: but the Prophet, it ſhould ſeem, tells Iſrael, *that had they been obedient, God would have fed them with the* fat *of wheat, and with the* rock *of honey would he have ſatisfied them:* that is, with *the moſt delicious wheat*, and with the *richeſt, moſt invigorating honey*, in large quantities, both for eating, and making agreeable drink. Its reviving *ſtrengthening* quality appears in the ſtory of Jonathan, Saul's ſon, 1 Sam. xiv. 27; as the uſing the term *rock* to ſignify ſtrength, &c, appears in a multitude of places. The rock of a ſword, Pſ. lxxxix. 43, for the edge of a ſword, in which its energy lies, is perhaps as ſtrange an expreſſion to Weſtern ears.

I ſhall have occaſion to take notice of the nobleneſs of the *grapes* of Judæa in a ſucceeding chapter[10]; and I may be diſpenſed with as to the purſuing the further examination of the productions of this country, upon giving my reader a remark of Dr. Shaw's to this purpoſe, *that it is impoſſible for pulſe, wheat, or grain of any kind, to be richer or better taſted, than what is commonly ſold at Jeruſalem*[11].

Only it may not be amiſs to add, with reſpect to this country's being well watered, that the *depths* ſpoken of in this paſſage

[10] The ninth. [11] P. 336.

ſeem

ſeem to mean reſervoirs[12] of water, filled by the rains of winter, and of great uſe to make their lands fertile; as the ſecond word ſeems to mean *wells*, or ſome ſuch ſort of conveniencies, ſupplied by *ſprings*; and the firſt word, *rivers*, or running ſtreams, whether carrying a larger or a ſmaller body of water. What an important part of this pleaſurable deſcription, eſpecially in the ears of thoſe that had wandered near forty years in a moſt dry and parched wilderneſs! I will only add, without entering into particulars, that the preſent face of the country anſwers this deſcription.

Observation IV.

The Scriptures, in their repreſentations of the *fruitfulneſs* of the Land of Promiſe, do in no place, ſo far as I remember, ſpeak of the plenty of *fiſh* there, though *Ægypt* was famous for its fiſh, and the children of Iſrael longed with eager deſire for fiſh *when in the wilderneſs*. To whatever cauſe this was owing, it doth not appear to be the *ſcarcity* of this kind of food in that country.

Fiſh *catched in the Mediterranean* was brought to Jeruſalem, in the time of Nehemiah, in conſiderable quantities, by the Ty-

[12] The word ſeems apparently to mean ſomething of this kind in Ezek. 31. 4; and again, Job 38. 30, for *he* could be ſuppoſed to know nothing of the freezing of the face of any other deep, than of a large pool or reſervoir of water.

rians, Neh. xiii. 16. As they were a city remarkable for ſkill in maritime affairs, it is impoſſible to ſay how far their fiſheries might extend; however, it cannot but be agreeable to find, by modern travellers, that they might have catched much fiſh in *their own neighbourhood.* "While I was buſy in "conſidering the city," ſays Le Bruyn, ſpeaking of Tyre, "my comrade employed his "time in fiſhing with a line, and his manner of doing it was by putting the line "about his finger, and when he found the "fiſh had taken the bait, he drew the ſtring "with both his hands, one after the other; "by which means we had a very good diſh "of fiſh, and found them excellently well "taſted [1]."

Travellers have found that the ſea of Tiberias, in Galilee, abounds in fiſh [2], ſome of them very large [3]; ſo they were anciently, John xxi. 11. Haſſelquiſt tells us, ſeveral of the ſorts of fiſh in this great lake are the ſame with thoſe found in the *Nile*, a circumſtance which he thinks remarkable [4]; doubtleſs becauſe it is imagined by the curious, that the fiſh of that river are peculiar to it. It is certain that Maillet, in the ninth letter of the deſcription of Ægypt, tells us, *that it is ſurprizing, that, notwithſtanding the prodigious quantity of fiſh in the Nile, there are hardly any, excepting* the eel, *that reſem-*

[1] Tom. 1. p. 564. [2] Pococke, vol. 2. p. 69, 70.
[3] Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2. p. 33. [4] P. 158.

ble

ble thoſe that are taken in the rivers of Europe. This remark, however curious, little concerns theſe papers: it is more agreeable to my deſign, to take notice, that among thoſe mentioned by Haſſelquiſt, as common to the ſea of Galilee and the Nile, are the Charmud, or Karmud, as Egmont and Heyman call it, and which theſe gentlemen tell us, is of the ſize of the Bonni, another of thoſe fiſh which are common to the Nile and the Sea of Galilee, and which they ſay weighs commonly near thirty pounds [5]. Well then might theſe authors ſay, ſome of the fiſh of Galilee were very large. To which I would add, that one hundred and fifty-three fiſhes of this ſize, or half this ſize, might well be ſuppoſed by St. John to endanger a net, in the paſſage juſt now cited from him.

Observation V.

Haſſelquiſt ſays, that the *mulberry-tree ſcarcely ever grows in Judæa, very little in Galilee,* but in abundance in Syria and Mount Lebanon [1]. He therefore blames the tranſlation of *Luther,* which renders the word we tranſlate ſycamore-tree, Luke xix. 4, *mulberry-tree,* and again, it ſeems, Luke xvii. 6. Our tranſlators do not ſo render theſe two paſſages; but there are other places in which they mention mulberry-trees, in particular 2 Sam. v. 23, 24. and 1 Chron. xiv. 14, 15,

[5] Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2. p. 220. [1] P. 287.

and

and in the margin of Pſ. lxxxiv. 6. I am afraid therefore he would equally have condemned them, had he been acquainted with our verſion.

If they are a ſpecies of trees not natural to thoſe countries, we cannot imagine them to have been brought into Judæa before the reign of David, hundreds of years before the production of *ſilk* was thought of there, which is the cauſe, I preſume, of their now growing in abundance in Syria and mount Lebanon, the inhabitants of thoſe places applying themſelves, in theſe later times, with great induſtry, to the raiſing *ſilk*, and making it one great branch of their commerce [z]; if, on the contrary, they had been *natives* of Judæa, they would ſtill, without doubt, appear there in numbers, as they did, as our tranſlation ſuppoſes, in the reign of king David: it is unimaginable then that our tranſlation ſhould be right.

It is much more eaſy, however, to determine that they are wrong in their tranſlation, than to find out what the original word really means. The Chaldee paraphraſe, it ſeems, contents itſelf with ſpeaking of them as trees in general: the Septuagint, in Samuel, ſuppoſes they were trees that grew in a place called *Weeping*, and Joſephus follows them in this; but this verſion in Chronicles ſuppoſes the word ſignifies *pear-trees*.

[z] Voy. de Syrie, &c, par de la Roque, tom. 1. p. 8.

Were

Were I to hazard a conjecture here, and were there a greater ſameneſs between the notions of the Eaſt and the Weſt, I ſhould imagine we might propoſe it, as no improbable ſuppoſition, that the *Weeping Willow* is the tree meant here. Ruſſell found it a *common tree* in the gardens of Aleppo [3], which are known to have *common trees of the field* growing frequently in them, as well as other plants: Ruſſell himſelf mentions the poplar, the common white willow, the horn-beam, oaks, the aſh, growing in their gardens, with other trees we ſhould more readily expect to find there, forming on the whole a *wild and irregular, but agreeable proſpect* [4]. It is true, I do not remember to have met with an account of this ſpecies of willow, in the *catalogues* of the plants of the Holy-Land which I have ſeen; but every one knows the Flora and the Faunus Palæſtini are very imperfect: as it is ſo *common* a tree at Aleppo, we may believe it is no ſtranger in Judæa.

Observation VI.

We have before taken notice that the *olive-tree* is very common in Judæa: I would now remark, that the Scriptures frequently refer to them, and that thoſe very references have given ſome pain to an ingenious traveller, on the account of trees of this ſpecies wanting a vivid verdure.

[3] P. 44. [4] P. 22, 23.

Mr.

Mr. Sharp, in his forty-eighth letter from Italy, expreſſes his *pain* in theſe words, "The "fields, and indeed the whole face of *Tuſ-* "*cany*, are in a manner covered with olive- "trees; but the olive-tree does not anſwer "the character I had conceived of it: the "Royal Pſalmiſt and ſome of the Sacred "Writers ſpeak with rapture of the *green* "olive-tree, ſo that I expected a *beautiful* "*green*; and I confeſs to you, I was *wretch-* "*edly* diſappointed, to find its hue reſem- "bling that of our hedges, when they are "*covered with duſt*. The olive-tree may, "poſſibly, delight in the *barren diſtrict of* "*Judæa*, but, undoubtedly, will diſguſt a "man accuſtomed to *Engliſh verdure*."

The objection ſhews, that it is of ſome importance to attend to *minute*, and even ſeemingly trifling circumſtances mentioned in Holy Writ, which is the great deſign of theſe papers. In conſidering it, I cannot allow the *propriety* of this worthy writer's method of alleviating the difficulty he had propoſed: Judæa is not now ſo deſtitute of verdure, as to make a tree that looks as if it was all over covered with duſt, an object ſufficient to charm the eye *by its colour*; and ſuch a ſuppoſition is ſtill leſs admiſſible, when it relates to former times, when it was much better cultivated. The true way of ſolving the difficulty is, I imagine, to conſider the word tranſlated *green* not as deſcriptive of *colour*,

in

in theſe paſſages, but of ſome other property, *youthfulneſs*, *vigour*, *proſperity*, &c.

It certainly *muſt* be ſo underſtood in ſome places where it occurs. No mortal ever imagined, that when Nebuchadnezzar ſaid, "I was at reſt in mine houſe, and *green* in "my palace," Dan. iv. 4, that he meant either that the *colour* of his face, or of his garments was green; but that he was, as our tranſlators juſtly render it, *flouriſhing* in his palace—that he was in ſuch a ſtate, with reſpect to his royalty, as a tree is when it is green, conſidered as a vegetable. So in the fifty-ſecond Pſalm, David deſcribes a wicked man, as being ſoon to wither away and diſappear; while he ſhould be like a *young*, *vigorous* olive-tree, which had long to live and to flouriſh. The beauty of the olive-tree marked out in other paſſages of Scripture, conſiſted in the ſpread of its branches, not its colour, Hoſ. xiv. 6.

The diſappointment then of Mr. Sharp aroſe, not from the miſrepreſentation of the ſacred writers, but merely from his miſunderſtanding them.

In like manner, when the Pſalmiſt ſays, "I ſhall be anointed with *green* oil," Pſ. xcii. 10, where there is the ſame word in the original, we are not to ſuppoſe he means oil of a green *colour*: would there have been any great advantage in that? Or can any paſſage be produced to ſhew it was an object of deſire to the people of the Eaſt? But we

are,

are, I believe, to underſtand the word as ſignifying *precious*, *fragrant* oil, ſuch as princes in times of proſperity were anointed with: fragrant, if you will, as a field which the Lord has bleſſed, a flowery field, in all its *verdure*, to the ſmell of which Iſaac compared the ſcent of the *perfumed* clothes Jacob had on, when Iſaac bleſſed him, Gen. xxvii. 27.

It appears from many paſſages, that when princes were victorious rich preſents were wont to be made them [1]; and from the hiſtory of Hezekiah [2], that *precious ointments*, or oils in which odoriferous plants or other ſubſtances had been put, and kept there ſome time, were preſented to them, preſerved long by them among their treaſures in part, and in part, we may believe, made uſe of on joyful occaſions: which kind of oil is, without doubt, what the Pſalmiſt calls *green oil*, and with which he was to be anointed, when God ſhould exalt his power, and make his horn like that of an unicorn.

To think of greenneſs *of colour* in the oil would be childiſh; to interpret the word of oil expreſſed from green, that is to ſay, from *unripe* olives, would not well agree with the accounts of ſome modern writers on medical preparations, who affirm that oil cannot be drawn from unripe olives [3]; to underſtand

[1] 2 Sam. 8. 10, 2 Chron. 32. 23. [2] If. 39. 2.
[3] Voy. Dict. des Drogues, par Lemery, Art. Omphacium.

ſtand the word as ſignifying *freſh-drawn* oil would be to give it much leſs energy than, I apprehend, was intended by the Pſalmiſt; to explain it of oil made *extremely odoriferous* is, I cannot help thinking, placing it in the proper point of light.

It is natural to ſuppoſe moſt, if not *all* the oil that was made uſe of for anointing themſelves for pleaſure, was more or leſs fragrant; it would elſe have hardly anſwered the purpoſe, which was the ſtifling thoſe diſagreeable ſcents the heat of that climate often excited. On this account it became extremely neceſſary to the enjoyment of life; for which reaſon the Prophet Micah [4] threatened Iſrael, *that they ſhould tread olives, but not anoint themſelves with oil.* We are ready to imagine no other important uſe of oil but for eating, but they found life would be very inelegant without anointing.

Some of their ointments were extremely precious: ſuch was the compoſition with which the head of our Lord was anointed [5]. But a ſlight infuſion of ſome of their own country flowers was ſufficient to give their hair a very agreeable ſcent. So Haſſelquiſt tells us the Ægyptians put the flowers of the *tuberoſe* into ſweet oil, and by this means give

cium. "Ce que les auteurs appellent *Oleum Omphacinum*, "ſeroit une huile tireè par expreſſion, des olives vertes; "mais on *n'en peut point tirer*, comme je l'ay remarqué "dans ma pharmacopée." [4] Ch. 6. 15. [5] Matt. 26. 7.

the oil a moſt excellent ſmell, ſcarce inferior to *oil of jeſſamine*[6]; and in another place, that he found *jeſſamine* growing in the Holy Land[7], beſides other fragrant plants.

Observation VII.

The deſcription that Sir J. Chardin gives us in his MSS. of the ſtate of theſe countries, with reſpect to the *cracking of the earth*, before the autumnal rains fall, is ſo lively a comment on Jer. xiv. 4, "becauſe "the ground is *chapt*, for there was no rain "in the earth, the plough-men were a-"ſhamed," that I beg leave to introduce it here as a diſtinct Obſervation.

The lands of the Eaſt, he ſays, in a note on Pſ. cxliii. 6, *which the great dryneſs there cauſes to crack, are the ground of this figure, which is certainly extremely beautiful; for theſe dry lands have chinks too deep for a perſon to ſee to the bottom of: this may be obſerved in the Indies more than any where, a little before the rains fall, and wherever the lands are rich and hard.*

The Prophet's ſpeaking of plough-men ſhews that he is ſpeaking of the *autumnal* ſtate of thoſe countries; and if the *cracks* are ſo deep from the common dryneſs of their ſummers, what muſt they be when the rains are withheld beyond the uſual time, which is the caſe Jeremiah is referring to?]

[6] P. 267. [7] P. 134.

OBSERVATION VIII. III.

To thoſe that feel ſomething of an *incredulous* anxiety, about the accounts the ſacred writers have given us, of the *extent* of the *kingdom* and of the *fame* of Iſrael in the days of David and Solomon, whereas we find *few* or *no traces* of this mighty power in *prophane hiſtory*, and we know that the Arabs have been always looked upon as an *untameable* people, I would recommend the account the curious editor of the Ruins of Palmyra has given of that ſtate.

Let them conſider that it was a ſmall territory, in the midſt of a deſert, and yet extended its conqueſts over many rich countries and conſiderable ſtates; that the great kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and of the Ptolomies became part of the dominions of a ſingle city, *whoſe name we in vain look for in hiſtory*[1]; and this though it flouriſhed in *modern times*, in compariſon of the age of David, (none of the dates found there being earlier than Chriſt,) and in times concerning which we have large accounts.

That Palmyra and Balbec, which are perhaps the two moſt ſurpriſing remains of ancient magnificence now left, ſhould be ſo neglected in hiſtory, as in a great meaſure to be left to tell their own ſtory, appears to

[1] Ruins of Palmyra, p. 11.

this ingenious writer a very remarkable fact, carrying inſtruction with it[2]. Inſtruction of more ſorts than one, let it be permitted me to ſay! for beſides thoſe moral leſſons the editor of theſe Ruins refers to, it removes at once all difficulties derived from the *ſilence* of prophane hiſtory concerning the kings and affairs of Jeruſalem, a city which ſtood in the neighbourhood of Palmyra and Balbec, which are paſſed over in as great or greater ſilence: to which is to be added the conſideration, that Jeruſalem was much more *ancient* than they.

IV. Observation IX.

Palmyra, though ſituated between the two great empires of Rome and Parthia, was an independent ſtate in the days of Pliny, and by its advantageous ſituation, in the midſt of a great deſert, not only preſerved its independence, but it was, according to Mr. Wood[1], the firſt care of thoſe two mighty empires, when at war, to engage it in their intereſt.

As it did not however always preſerve its independence, being conquered by Aurelian, and ſubjected to the Romans, the ruins of ſome of their works ſtill continuing there; ſo it might not be always a ſeparate ſtate in the ages that preceded that of Pliny. It however muſt notwithſtanding have been an

[2] P. 1. [1] Ruins of Palmyra, p. 5.

object

object of great attention at all times: and even *before any city was built there*, on account of its waters [2], which indeed are supposed to have been the occasion of erecting it. So William the Achbishop of Tyre [3] mentions it as a great defect in the Christians, that they did not seize upon a place called Gerba, where there was an *abundance of water*, and which lay in the way of Saladine, in his march out of Ægypt to Damascus; which had they done, he supposes Saladine must have returned into Ægypt, and have lost his whole army by thirst. Their taking possession afterwards of the waters called Rasel Rasit, which they proposed to do, but did not, he supposed too would have obliged him to have gone farther about in the wilderness, and would have been attended with great loss to him.

Was then Palmyra the place that Pharaoh Necho wanted to secure [4], or Hadadezer king of Zobah [5]? One might be tempted to fancy so from its importance, and its nearness to the Euphrates. It could hardly however be an object of Necho's attention, because the place he went against is expressly called by the Jewish historian *Carchemish*, whereas Palmyra was *known to the Jews* by the name of Tadmor in the Wilderness, and is so called by this very historian, 2 Chron. viii. 4. Agreeably to this, long after the days of

[2] P. 18. [3] Gesta Dei, &c. p. 1027. [4] 2 Chron. 35. 20. [5] 2 Sam. 8. 3.

Necho, Saladine, who reigned over the ſame country of Ægypt, is ſpoken of as having *more towns than one* on the Euphrates [6]. This however ſhews how fond the Ægyptian princes have always been of having ſome towns in the neighbourhood of that river.

It is much more probable, that this might be the border that Hadadezer ſought to recover out of the hands of David; ſince it is in a manner univerſally allowed, that Solomon his ſon built a city here, which place, as he was a pacific prince, it is moſt natural to think had been previouſly ſecured by David; and it is reaſonable to believe that he ſeized upon this important place, which, though of ſuch conſequence to his caravans, had been neglected by Hadadezer, in order to become maſter of that advantageous commerce carried on through it from the Euphrates, which the ingenious editor of the Ruins of Palmyra [7], if I underſtand him right, ſuppoſes was as ancient as theſe times. Such a ſuppoſition explains, I think, in the eaſieſt manner, the conteſt between the king of Zobah and David about this place, which till then, it ſhould ſeem, had laid unoccupied, and had been only uſed for a watering-place.

But whether we are to underſtand it of *the ſprings* of Palmyra, or of *any other place* nearer the Euphrates, in the time of David

[6] Geſta Dei per Francos, p. 1029. [7] P. 18.

at

at fartheſt, Providence fulfilled the prediction to Abraham, *that to his ſeed ſhould be given the land from the river of Ægypt to the Euphrates.*

Observation X. V.

Dr. Pococke has made a remark upon this river, (the Euphrates,) which may poſſibly ſerve to explain a difficulty relating to another, of which we read much more frequently in the Scriptures, I mean the Jordan.

The bed of the Euphrates, this writer tells us, was meaſured by ſome Engliſh gentlemen at Beer, and found to be ſix hundred and thirty yards broad[1], but the river only two hundred and fourteen yards over; that they thought it to be nine or ten feet deep in the middle; and were informed that it ſometimes riſes twelve feet perpendicularly. He obſerved that it had an inner and an outer bank; but ſays, it *rarely* overflows the inner bank; that when it doth, they ſow watermelons, and other fruits of that kind, as

[1 This, I ſuppoſe, was the breadth from one of the inner banks to the other; for Mr. Drummond tells us that the Euphrates at Beer has "two ſets of banks, one for "ſummer, and the other for winter, theſe laſt being *full* "half a mile wider than the other." p. 205. If the width of one of the outer banks from the other is half a mile, or eight hundred and eighty yards *more* than the common bed of the Euphrates, it muſt be the diſtance from one of the inner banks to the other that theſe gentlemen meaſured, which they found to be ſix hundred and thirty yards only.]

ſoon as the water retires, and have a great produce [2].

Might not the overflowings of Jordan be like thoſe of the Euphrates, not annual, but much more rare? Maundrell obſerved an inner and an outer bank belonging to Jordan, but ſays, that river was ſo far from overflowing when he was there, that it ran at leaſt two yards below the brink of its channel. The circumſtance of his having been there the thirtieth of March, the proper time for its inundation, 1 Chron. xii. 15, appears a little to have diſconcerted him; however, he ſuppoſes it might *anciently* [3] have overflowed the level ſtrand up to the firſt bank, though at preſent it ſeems to have forgot its ancient greatneſs, either by having worn its channel deeper than it was formerly, or becauſe its waters are diverted ſome other way. But *poſſibly* the whole of it lies in this, that it doth not, like the Nile, overflow annually, as authors by miſtake have ſuppoſed, but, like the Euphrates, only in

[2] Vol. 2. p. 164.

[3] It appears from a paſſage of Joſephus, (de Bell. Jud. lib. 4. cap. 7,) that the Jordan was ſometimes ſwelled in the ſpring, ſo as to be impaſſable in places where people were wont to go over, *in his time*; for ſpeaking of a tranſaction on the fourth of the month Dyſtrus, which anſwers our *March*, or, as ſome reckon, *February*, he gives an account of great numbers of people who periſhed in this river, into which they were driven by their enemies, which, by the circumſtances, appears to have happened *in a few days after* what was done on the fourth of Dyſtrus.]

ſome

ſome particular years; but when it doth, that it is in the time of harveſt. It is unhappy that no virtuoſo hath aſcertained the fact: may the writer of theſe papers venture to recommend the examination of it to the curious?

If it did not in ancient times annually overflow its banks, the Majeſty of God's dividing its waters in the days of Joſhua was certainly the more ſtriking to the Canaanites, who, when they looked upon themſelves as extraordinarily defended by the overflowing of the river, which happened not every year, its breadth and rapidity being both ſo extremely increaſed, yet found the river in theſe circumſtances open itſelf, and make a way on the dry land for the people of Jehovah.

Observation XI. VI.

Though wood is very ſcarce in Palæſtine, in ſome well-watered places they have conſiderable thickets of trees, and of reeds.

So Dr. Pococke repreſents Jordan as almoſt hid by *ſhady trees*, between the lake Samochonites, and the ſea of Tiberias; which trees, he ſays, are chiefly of the platanus-kind, and grow on each ſide of it [1]. To which he adds, that the lake itſelf, when the waters are fallen, is only a marſh [2]. And, in another place [3], he deſcribes the ſea of Tiberias as having reeds growing by it in great

[1] Vol. 2. p. 72. [2] P. 73. [3] P. 70.

numbers. Sandys had long before given a ſimilar account of theſe places: obſerving that Jordan was ſhaded with poplars, alders, tamariſks, and reeds of ſundry kinds; and that the lake Samochonites, then called Houle, was in the ſummer *for the moſt part* dry, and overgrown with ſhrubs and reeds [4].

In theſe places, both authors agree, live many wild boars. Dr. Pococke in particular obſerved very large herds of them on the other ſide Jordan, where it flows out of the ſea of Tiberias; and ſeveral of them on the ſame ſide (on which he was) lying among the reeds by the ſea [5]. The wild boars of other countries delight in the like moiſt habitations [6].

Theſe ſhady marſhes then, it ſhould ſeem, are called in the Scripture *woods*, for it calls theſe animals the wild boars of the wood, Pſ. lxxx. 13.

Might not the wood of Ephraim, in which the battle was fought between the army of Abſalom and the ſervants of David, be a *wood of the ſame kind?* If it was, a difficulty that ſeems to have perplexed commentators may be removed: for it is certain that a boggy place may be very fatal to an army, partly by ſuffocating thoſe that in the hurry of flight inadvertently venture over places incapable of ſupporting them; and partly

[4] P. 110. [5] Vol. 2. p. 70. [6] See Keyſler concerning the wild boars of Germany, vol. 1. p. 134, and Le Bruyn concerning thoſe of Perſia, vol. 4. p. 451.

by

by retarding them, ſo as to give their purſuers an opportunity of coming up with them, and cutting them off. A greater number of people than of thoſe that fall in the heat of battle may thus be deſtroyed.

So the Archbiſhop of Tyre tells us, that ſome of the troops of one of the Chriſtian kings of Jeruſalem, were loſt in the *marſhy places* of a valley *of this country*, out of which that prince was driving a great number of cattle, owing to their not being acquainted with the paſſages through them; and this, though he was ſucceſsful in his expedition, and had no enemy to moleſt him in his return [7]. They were indeed, according to the Archbiſhop, but few; but in what numbers would they have periſhed, muſt we think, had they been forced to fly, like the men of Abſalom, before a victorious army. So Joſephus aſcribes the death of Demetrius, one of the kings of Syria, to his horſe's plunging into a muddy place, which could not eaſily be paſſed through, where being intangled, he was ſlain by thoſe very enemies he had been purſuing, who ſeeing the accident, turned back, and killed him with their darts [8]. On ſuch accounts as theſe, the ancient warriors thought ſuch retreats as marſhes proper places for them to encamp in, eſpecially when their enemies ſurpaſſed them in numbers; ſo Joſephus repreſents Jonathan the Maccabee, as encamping in the fens of Jordan, and

[7] Geſta Dei per Francos, p. 1003. [8] Antiq. l. 13. cap. 2.

after being forced from thence by Bacchides, as returning thither again [9]. The ſecure retreat two young Babylonian Jews and their comrades found, ſeems to have been of the ſame kind—a reedy wood, ſurrounded by the Euphrates [10].

No commentator however, that I know of, has propoſed this explanation of this piece of David's hiſtory—his cauſing the battle to be in the wood; and of the wood's deſtroying more than the fight. Inſtead of it, ſome of them have ſuppoſed the meaning of the laſt particular was, that Abſalom's ſoldiers were deſtroyed by the *wild beaſts* of this wood. A moſt improbable thought: as we cannot believe that in ſuch a time as that of king David, when Iſrael was ſo numerous, wild beaſts ſhould be ſo numerous in one of the woods of that country, as to occaſion ſuch a deſtruction; and if their numbers were ever ſo large, they would doubtleſs have retired upon the approach of the two armies, under the apprehenſion of danger to themſelves [11], rather than have ſtayed to devour thoſe that fled. The expeditions of the Turks againſt Faccardine, the famous Emir that made ſuch a noiſe in the beginning of the laſt century, were chiefly in the woods of Mount Lebanon, according to Monſ. la Roque, where, that author elſewhere tells us, there are many wild

[9] Ibid cap. 1. §. 3. & 5.
[10] Ibid. lib. 18. c. 9.
[11] See Shaw, p. 235.

beaſts,

beasts [12], yet not one word of either Maronites or Turks being injured by them occurs in his account [13]. Yet unnatural as this thought is, it is, we are told [14], the comment of some Jewish writers, of the Chaldee Paraphrast, and of the authors of the Syriac and Arabic versions of the Old Testament.

Others have given different conjectures, which, if not so improbable as that I have been considering, are however, I think, less natural than that I have proposed.

If we turn our thoughts to other countries, Lewis the Second of Hungary lost his life in a bog, fighting in his own kingdom, in the sixteenth century; and Decius, the Roman Emperor, long before him, perished with his army in a fen, according to Zosimus.

Observation XII. VII.

Wild beasts, *however*, were sometimes found in these countries, and ancient warriors thought it no small part of their glory to destroy them.

The exploits of Richard the First and his warriors, in the Holy-Land, are among the most celebrated of those times; yet Bishop Gibson gives us to understand, that Hugh Nevill considered his destroying a *lion* there by an arrow-shot, and by running him through with his sword, as the noblest of

[12] Voy. de Syr. tome 1. p. 70. [13] Tome 2. p. 206.
[14] Vide Poli Syn. in 2 Sam. xviii. 8.

his

his exploits: for he tells us, that his ſeal expreſſed this atchievement, and the manner of it [1]; a monk alſo of that time thought it a fit ſubject for him, it ſeems, to celebrate, the Biſhop having given us an old verſe made on the ſame occaſion in his account. Albertus Aquenſis in like manner celebrates a German, named Wickerus, for an action of the ſame ſort near Joppa [2]; a fact mentioned by another writer in that collection [3].

The ſame ſimplicity, and a taſte a good deal like that of Nevill and the people of his time, without doubt, led the Prophet to *ſelect* Benaiah's ſlaying a lion, in the midſt of a pit in a time of ſnow, from many other exploits of the Jewiſh worthy he could have mentioned, 2 Sam. xxiii. 20 [4].

Observation XIII.

[*Mice*, ſmall as thoſe animals are, have been ſometimes extremely troubleſome, and indeed *deſtructive*, to Palæſtine.

[1] See his additions to Camden's Account of Eſſex, in his Britannia, p. 358. [2] Geſta Dei per Franços, p. 314. [3] P. 75. [4] David had to defend his flock from *bears* as well as lions, 1 Sam. 17. 34: and, as Dr. Shaw gives us to underſtand, theſe rugged animals are not peculiar to the bleak countries of the North, being found in Barbary; ſo Thevenot informs us, that they inhabit the wilderneſs adjoining to the Holy-Land, and that he himſelf ſaw one near the Northern extremities of the Red Sea, part 1. p. 163, 164. How much nearer the inhabited parts of Palæſtine they have been obſerved by modern travellers, I cannot ſay.]

Com-

Commentators, upon occaſion of what is ſaid, 1 Sam. vi, 4, 5,[1] have cited abundance of paſſages, relating to the havock made by creatures of this genus, in *other* countries; but they are ſilent as to Judæa's ſuffering by them, at other times beſides that mentioned in the prophetic hiſtory, which would, however, have been much more ſatisfactory, or at leaſt pleaſing.

This is not owing to its being a kind of ſcourge never known there, excepting in that particular caſe mentioned in the book of Samuel; but to a want of extending their enquiries *far* enough: for we find an account of this country's ſuffering by this kind of animal, in the hiſtory of William the Archbiſhop of Tyre, a little before his time — in the beginning of the twelfth century. The Archbiſhop's account in ſhort is[2], "that a kind of penitential council was held at *Naplouſe*, in the year one thouſand one hundred and twenty, where five and twenty canons were framed, for the correction of the manners of the inhabitants of the Chriſtian kingdom of Jeruſalem, who they apprehended had provoked God to bring upon them the calamities of earthquakes, war, and famine. This laſt the Archbiſhop aſcribes

[1] Biſhop Patrick in particular. [2] Geſta Dei, p. 823, 824.——Regnum Hieroſolymorum multis vexationibus fatigaretur, & præter eas quæ ab hoſtibus inferebantur moleſtias, locuſtarum intemperie & edacibus muribus, jam quaſi quadriennio continuo fruges ita penitus deperiſſent, ut omne firmamentum panis defeciſſe videretur.

to

to locuſts and devouring *mice*, which had for four years together ſo deſtroyed the fruits of the earth, as ſeemed to cauſe a *total failure* of that branch of their food.

The ravages of *locuſts* in Palæſtine have been frequently taken notice of by authors; but here *mice* were joined with them, as making havock of the country. What ſpecies of this genus of animals is meant by the Archbiſhop, may be the ſubject of very curious enquiry. The creature meant was, it ſeems, very deſtructive; but the *jird*, the *jerbôa*, or *yerbôa*, and the *daman Iſrael*, are all ſuppoſed by Dr. Shaw [3] to be *harmleſs* animals.

Fulcherius Carnotenſis gives us to underſtand, that the uſual time that the mice injure the corn is at it's firſt ſprouting, as that of the locuſts is after it is in the ear [3].

Observation XIV.

Some of the *venomous animals* of this country, it was ſuppoſed, might be *charmed*, and their noxious effects, by that means, prevented.

Dr. Shaw has taken notice of this opinion's remaining in the Levant; I ſhould not therefore have mentioned it in theſe papers, had not Sir John Chardin given an account in his MS. of another circumſtance,

[3] P. 176, 177, 348. [4] Geſta Dei, p. 427.

which

which Shaw has omitted, and which he ſuppoſed is alluded to in Pſalm lviii. 6.

" Break their teeth, O God, in their " mouth: break out the great teeth of the " young lions, O Lord," are the words of the Pſalmiſt. It would have been natural to ſuppoſe the image changed at the beginning of this verſe, and that the whole verſe ſpoke of lions, had we not been told by Chardin, *that thoſe that know how to tame ſerpents by their charms, are wont commonly to break out their teeth.*

It appears, by Pool, that Hammond had the ſame ſentiment: this account may ſerve to ſtrengthen this opinion.

There is a marginal addition in the MS, relating to the *power of muſic* over ſerpents, and ſome other circumſtances, ſo extraordinary, that as that MS. is not likely ever to be publiſhed, I would ſet it down here, and leave it to my readers to make what reflexions upon it they pleaſe. *It appears*, ſays the margin, *that all the teeth of a ſerpent are not venomous, becauſe thoſe that charm them will cauſe their ſerpents to bite them till they draw blood, and yet the wound will not ſwell. Adders will ſwell at the ſound of a flute, raiſing themſelves up on the one half of their body, turning the other part about, and beating proper time; being wonderfully delighted with the muſic, and following the inſtrument. It's head, before round and long, like an eel, it ſpreads out broad and flat, like a fan. Adders and ſerpents twiſt them-*

themſelves round the neck and naked body of young children, belonging to thoſe that charm them. At Surat, an Armenian ſeeing one of them making an adder bite his fleſh, without receiving any injury, ſaid, I *can do that; and cauſing himſelf to be wounded in the hand, he died in leſs than two hours.*

A ſerpent's poſſeſſing a muſical ear, its keeping time in its motions with the harmony, its altering the ſhape of its head, are circumſtances which, if true, are very wonderful [1].]

VIII.

Observation XV.

When the Grand Signior ordered the Baſhaw of Damaſcus to make the Emir Faccardine a priſoner, whom I mentioned under the eleventh Obſervation, Faccardine ſhut himſelf up in the hollow of a great rock, with a ſmall number of his officers, where the Baſhaw beſieged him ſome months, who was on the point of blowing up the rock, when the Emir ſurrendered on ſome conditions, Nov. 12, 1634. A lively comment, I have always thought this, on Samſon's retiring, after various exploits againſt the Philiſtines, to the top of the rock Etam; and on his ſurrendering himſelf afterwards into the hands of the men of Judah, ſent by the Philiſtines to take him.

Nor is this to be ſuppoſed a kind of defence, which Samſon and Faccardine made

[1] See however Shaw's Travels, p. 411.

uſe

uſe of, merely from their being unable, on the account of a ſurprize, to recover ſome place of greater ſafety; they were conſidered as very ſtrong places, and made uſe of frequently in that country in the time of the Croiſades, by thoſe Chriſtians that went from the Weſt, and were perfectly well acquainted with the manner of fortifying places in Europe in that age [1]. One of thoſe places, which the hiſtory of the Croiſades mentions, was in the territory of Sidon; but in the days of the Prophets, *Edom* ſeems to have been *diſtinguiſhed* from the other Eaſtern nations by this ſort of faſtneſſes, Obad. v. 3, 4. Jer. xlix. 16.

The caves, the rocks, the high places, and the dens, which we read of 1 Sam. xiii. 6, and Judges vi. 2, ſeem to have been, at leaſt ſome of them, places of much leſs ſtrength, anſwerable to thoſe places to which people retired in the time of the Croiſades for a little ſhelter, but out of which they were ſoon forced [2]: ſafety in them being rather to be hoped for from their ſecrecy than their ſtrength.

One of the writers in the Geſta Dei per Francos ſpeaks of the inhabitants of the region called Traconitis, as uſually living in caves [3]; but I do not remember that the Scriptures any where directly refer to ſuch habitations, at leaſt I preſume that is not

[1] Vide Geſta Dei per Francos, p. 944, 946, 962, 1026.
[2] P. 405, 734, 781. [3] P. 895.

the meaning of the Edomites making their neſts on high, which the Prophets Obadiah and Jeremiah ſpeak of.

Remarks of this kind, in general, have been frequently made, I am very ſenſible; all that I pretend to, in this article, is the illuſtrating ſome paſſages a little more particularly than has been done before me.

IX. Observation XVI.

The Archbiſhop of Tyre tells us, that the Chriſtian kings of Jeruſalem uſed to aſſemble their forces at a *fountain* between Nazareth and Sepphoris, which was greatly celebrated on that account. This being looked upon to be nearly the centre of their kingdom, they could from thence, conſequently, march moſt commodiouſly to any place where their preſence was wanted [1]. He mentions alſo another *fountain* near a town called Little Gerinum, which he ſays was the ancient Jezreel; near this Saladine pitched his camp, for the benefit of its waters [2], while Baldwin king of Jeruſalem had, as uſual, aſſembled his army at the firſt-mentioned place.

This ſolicitude in the princes of theſe ſultry climates to pitch near fountains; this mention that is made of one by Jezreel; this cuſtom of aſſembling their armies in the centre of their kingdom; all ſerve to illuſ-

[1] Geſta Dei &c, p. 991, 1027, 1036, 1037. [2] P. 1037.

trate

trate the 1 Sam. xxix. 1, which ſpeaks of the encampment of Iſrael at a fountain, conſiderably diſtant from the proper country of the Philiſtines, juſt before the fatal battle which concluded the reign of Saul. If the Philiſtines had extended their territories at this time to Mount Carmel [3]; if they were wont to make their irruptions into the land of Iſrael that way, in that age; or if Saul had received intelligence of ſuch a deſign at this time; theſe circumſtances, or any of them, would farther explain the propriety of this pitching by the fountain of Jezreel: but what William of Tyre ſays about the managements of the Chriſtian kings of Jeruſalem of his days, and of their predeceſſors, is *alone* a more clear illuſtration of this paſſage than commentators have furniſhed us with.

And perhaps this may ſerve to explain Pſalm lxviii. 26, "Bleſs ye God in the "congregations, even the Lord, *from the* "*fountain* of Iſrael." The exact word of the original which is tranſlated congregations, occurs no where elſe, I think, in the Scripture; but a word derived from the ſame root, and conſequently near akin to it, means the aſſembly of Iſrael gathered together for war, Judges xx. 2, Ch. xxi. 8, 1 Sam. xvii. 47, Gen. xlix. 6. Water muſt have been as neceſſary for thoſe ancient ar-

[3] Vide Relandi Pal. p. 77.

mies of Iſrael, as for the leſs numerous ones of the Chriſtian kings of Jeruſalem; it is natural therefore to ſuppoſe they uſed to aſſemble near ſome plentiful fountain, and as natural to ſuppoſe they generally made uſe of one and the ſame fountain, as that the princes of the croſs ſhould; whether that between Sepphoris and Nazareth, or that by Jezreel, or any other, it nothing concerns us here to determine. That place muſt have been well known in thoſe days, and might, in the language of poetry, be as well called the *fountain of Iſrael*, as be marked out by its particular name, *Bleſs God in your warlike aſſemblies, even the Lord*, from the fountain of Iſrael, *the ſtated place of your rendezvouz; for the Lord ſhall bleſs you in your conſultations there, and you may march from thence with ſongs of praiſe, and confident hopes of ſucceſs* [4].

There are other places in the Geſta Dei per Francos [5], and other places in the Scripture [6], which ſpeak of the pitching near fountains; might not an exact account of the fountains of this country ſerve to ſettle many points of geography, relating to the places where the armies of the Old Teſtament times encamped?

[4] See 2 Chron. 20. 21.
[5] P. 982, 993, 1027.
[6] So the army of Iſh-boſheth ſat down by the pool of Gibeon, 2 Sam. 2. 12, 13.

OBSER-

Observation XVII. x.

As a plentiful fountain was very neceſſary, in that country, in thoſe places in which they were wont to rendezvous, ſo the want of water muſt have been very terrible in any after-encampments, in their purſuing a war, and eſpecially when they had to ſtay any time in ſuch a place.

The thought then of Hezekiah, who propoſed to his princes the *ſtopping of all fountains*, and the *brook that ran through the midſt of the land*, when Sennacherib was making his approaches to Jeruſalem, was on this account very natural; but it may be thought to be a proof of the great ſimplicity of antiquity, to entertain ſuch a thought, and more ſo, if he was able to effect his ſcheme. How could *fountains* and a *brook* be ſo ſtopped as totally to be concealed? How eaſy was it for ſuch a mighty army as the Aſſyrian to ſink a multitude of wells?

But odd as this contrivance may ſeem, it was actually made uſe of at the ſame place, many centuries after Hezekiah's time, and greatly perplexed an *European* army, and that too aſſembled from *various* warlike countries. For William of Tyre, deſcribing the beſieging of Jeruſalem by the Croiſes in 1099, tells us, that its inhabitants having had advice of their coming, *ſtopped up* the mouths of their fountains and ciſterns for five or ſix

miles round the city, that being overwhelmed with thirſt, they might be obliged to deſiſt from their deſign of beſieging it. This management of theirs occaſioned, he informs us, infinite trouble afterward to the Chriſtian army; the inhabitants in the mean time not only having plenty of rain-water, but enjoying the benefit of the ſprings too, without the town, their waters being conveyed by aqueducts into two very large baſons within it [1]. Theſe precautions indeed did not hinder the Croiſes from perſevering in the ſiege from June 7 to July 15, and ſucceeding at laſt; but he ſays, the army was diſtreſſed with thirſt in the moſt terrible manner, notwithſtanding it had the aſſiſtance of ſome of the Chriſtian inhabitants of Bethlehem and Tekoa, who being in the army, in conſiderable numbers, conducted the people to fountains at four or five miles diſtance. For as for the nearer neighbourhood of Jeruſalem, it was a very dry and unwatered ſoil, having ſcarce any brooks, or fountains, or pits of freſh water, and all thoſe they filled up with duſt, and by other means, as much as they could; and either broke down the ciſterns of rain-water, or maliciouſly hid them, that they might be of no advantage to the pilgrims. And as for thoſe diſtant fountains to which they were conducted, there was ſuch preſſing, and hindering one another from drawing, that it was with diffi-

[1] Geſta Dei &c, p. 749.

culty,

culty, and after long delays, that they got a little muddy water in their leather-bottles, of which a *draught* could not be purchaſed but at an extravagant rate. As for the fountain of Siloam, which was near, ſometimes it had no water, and ſometimes when it had, it was not agreeable to drink, ſo that it did not afford a ſufficient ſupply to the army by any means. The men however made a ſhift, one way or another, to ſave themſelves from periſhing by thirſt; but the horſes, mules, aſſes, flocks, and herds, died in great numbers, and occaſioned a dangerous peſtilential corruption of the air. The beſieged in the mean while, by their frequent ſallies, cut off great numbers of thoſe that were diſperſed about in ſearch of proviſions and forage [2].

What the Archbiſhop of Tyre has ſaid, concerning the *nature* of the country about Jeruſalem, ſhews the impracticability of an army's ſupplying itſelf with water by ſinking of wells; ſprings in the earth being rare there, and the ſoil on the contrary extremely dry. It ſhews alſo how eaſily ſuch wells as have a ſupply of water may be concealed, which are what the term tranſlated fountains in the 2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4. frequently means [3], and what Hezekiah *muſt* mean, ſince there was no fountain to form any brook in the near neighbourhood of Jeruſalem, excepting that of Siloam, as St. Jerome ex-

[2] Geſta Dei &c, p. 751, 752.

[3] See Gen. xxiv.

preſsly affirms, in his Commentary on Jeremiah xiv [4], which the accounts of travellers of later ages have confirmed.

That ſtream that flowed from Siloam is, I preſume, the *brook* that Hezekiah ſpeaks of, which in the time of the Croiſades was not, it ſhould ſeem, attempted to be ſtopped up. What the cauſe of that was we are not told, but it ſeems the waters of ſome ſprings without the city were conveyed into Jeruſalem at that time; and that Solomon in his reign had attempted to do the like, as to part of the water of the ſprings of Bethlehem, and effected it [5]: it was no wonder then that Hezekiah ſhould think of introducing the waters of Siloam in like manner into the city, in order at once to deprive the beſiegers of its waters, and benefit the inhabitants of Jeruſalem by them. Probably it was done in the ſame manner that Solomon brought the waters of Bethlehem thither, that is, by collecting the water of the ſpring or ſprings into a ſubterraneous reſervoir, and from thence, by a concealed aqueduct, conveying them into Jeruſalem, with this difference, that Solomon took only part of the Bethlehem water, leaving the reſt to flow into thoſe celebrated pools which remain to this day; whereas Hezekiah turned all the water of Si-

[4] Uno quippe fonte Silöe, & hoc non perpetuo utitur civitas, & uſque in præſentem diem ſterilitas pluviarum, non ſolum frugum, ſed & bibendi inopiam facit. [5] Maundrell, p. 89, 90.

loam

ſoam into the city, abſolutely ſtopping up the outlet into the pool, and filling it up with earth, that no trace of it might be ſeen by the Aſſyrian. Which ſeems indeed to be the account of the ſacred writer, 2 Chron. xxxii. 30, "This ſame Hezekiah alſo ſtopped "the upper water-courſe of Gihon," (which is another name for Siloam,) "and brought "it ſtreight down to the weſt ſide of the "city of David." Thus our tranſlators expreſs it: but the original may as well be rendered, "Hezekiah ſtopped the *upper going* "*out* of the waters of Gihon, and directed "them *underneath* to the weſt of the city "of David;" and ſo Pagninus and Arias Montanus underſtand the paſſage—he ſtopped up, that is, the outlet of the waters of Gihon into the open air, by which they were wont to paſs into the pool of Siloam, and became a *brook*, and by ſome ſubterraneous contrivance directed the waters to the weſt ſide of Jeruſalem.

But beſides theſe methods of ſtopping up wells, and breaking down ciſterns, the ſame writer [6] informs us of another way the Eaſtern people have ſometimes practiſed, to deprive their enemies of the uſe of their waters; that is, the throwing into them ſuch filth as rendered them not drinkable. This was done in particular by the people at a place called Boſſeret. Accident alſo has ſometimes, after much the ſame manner, made them unfit for

[6] Geſta Dei per Francos, p. 1031.

drinking:

drinking: ſo, in deſcribing the expedition of Baldwin III. againſt the ſame town, he ſays, that his army underwent very great thirſt at that time; for paſſing through the country of Traconitis, which hath no fountains, only ciſterns of rain-water, it happened that at the time he paſſed through it, theſe ciſterns were rendered uſeleſs by means of the locuſts, which had a little before ſwarmed to an uncommon degree, and dying, had occaſioned ſuch putrefaction in their waters, as to render the drinking them inſupportable [7]. It is not impoſſible that the *corrupt ſpring* that Solomon alludes to, Prov. xxv. 26, and to which he compares a *righteous man ſlain by a wicked one*, whoſe promiſed uſefulneſs was by that means cut off, might intend a receptacle of water made uſeleſs after this manner; though it muſt be allowed that the corrupting a rill of water, by making it muddy, is as natural an interpretation.

XI. OBSERVATION XVIII.

Dr. Shaw mentions a beautiful rill in Barbary, which is received into a large baſon, called Shrub we krub, (drink and away,) there being great danger of meeting there with rogues and aſſaſſins [1]. If ſuch places are proper for the lurking of murderers in times of peace, they muſt be proper for the lying in ambuſh in times of war; a circum-

[7] Geſta Dei per Francos, p. 895.

[1] P. 20.

ſtance

ſtance that Deborah takes notice of in her ſong, Judges v. 11.

But the writer that is placed firſt in that collection which is intituled Geſta Dei per Francos, gives a more perfect comment ſtill on that paſſage: for, ſpeaking of the want of water that the Croiſade army ſo ſeverely felt, at the ſiege of Jeruſalem, he complains, that beſides their being forced to uſe water that ſtunk, and barley-bread, their people were in *continual danger* from the Saracens, who lying hid *near all the fountains*, and *places of water*, every where deſtroyed numbers of them, and carried off their cattle [2].

To which may be added a ſtory from William of Tyre, relating to Godfrey duke of Lorrain, afterwards king of Jeruſalem, who ſtopping ſhort of Antioch five or ſix miles, (to which place he was returning,) in order to take ſome refreſhment in a pleaſant graſſy place *near a fountain*, was ſudenly ſet upon, it ſeems, by a number of horſemen of the enemy, who ruſhed out of a *reedy fenny place* near them, and ſet upon the duke and his people [3].

Observation XIX. XII.

But though Hezekiah ſtopped up the wells of water, &c, Sennacherib however boaſted that he was not afraid of wanting *water*, or of being reduced to get it with

[2] P. 27. [3] P. 734, 735.

hazard

hazard or difficulty from ſmall fountains at a diſtance; which *boaſt* was perhaps occaſioned by an account he had heard, of the precautions taken by Hezekiah: "I have digged "and drank *ſtrange waters*, and with the "*ſole of my feet* have I dried up all the rivers "of beſieged" (or fenced) "places," (or of Ægypt, as others underſtand it,) 2 Kings xix. 24.

The curious Vitringa admires [1] the explanation Grotius has given, of that watering with the foot by which Ægypt was diſtinguiſhed from Judæa [2], derived from an obſervation made on Philo, who lived in Ægypt, Philo having deſcribed a machine uſed by the peaſants of that country for watering, as wrought by the *feet*; which ſort of watering Dr. Shaw has ſince underſtood of the gardener's putting a ſtop to the farther flowing of the water in the rill, in which thoſe things were planted that wanted watering, by turning the earth againſt it *with his foot* [3]. Great reſpect is due to ſo candid and ingenious a traveller as Dr. Shaw; I muſt however own, that I apprehend the meaning of Moſes is more truely repreſented by Grotius than the Doctor. For Moſes ſeems to intend to repreſent the *great labour* of this way of watering by the foot, which the working that inſtrument really was, on which account it ſeems to be laid aſide in Ægypt ſince the time of Philo, and eaſier methods of raiſing

[1] In Com. in Jeſaiam. [2] Deut. 11. 10. [3] P. 408.

the

the water made uſe of; whereas the turning the earth with the foot, which Dr. Shaw ſpeaks of, is the leaſt part of the labour of watering. If it ſhould be remarked, that this machine was not older than Archimedes, which has been ſuppoſed, I would by way of reply obſerve, that the more ancient Ægyptian machines might be equally wrought with the foot, and were undoubtedly more laborious ſtill, as otherwiſe the invention of Archimedes would not have brought them into diſuſe.

But though I think the interpretation of Deut. xi. 10. by Grotius is preferable to that of Dr. Shaw, I readily admit that the Doctor's thought may be very naturally applied to theſe words of Sennacherib, (to which however the Doctor has not applied it;) for he ſeems to boaſt, that he could *as eaſily* turn the water of great rivers, and cauſe their old channels to become dry, as a gardener ſtops the water from flowing any longer *in a rill by the ſole of his foot*.

And as the gardener ſtops up one rill, and opens another with his mattock[4], to let in the water; ſo, ſays Sennacherib, I have *digged* and drank *ſtrange* waters, waters, that is, that did not heretofore flow in the places I have made them flow in. This is the eaſieſt interpretation that can, I believe, be given to the word *ſtrange*, made uſe of by this Aſſyrian prince, and makes the whole verſe a

[4] See Shaw in the laſt cited place.

reference

reference to the Eaſtern way of watering: *I have digged channels, and drank, and cauſed my army to drink out of* new-made *rivers, into which I have conducted the waters that uſed to flow* elſewhere, *and have laid thoſe old channels* dry *with the* ſole of my foot, *with as much eaſe as a gardener digs channels in his garden, and directing the waters of a ciſtern into a new rill,* with his foot *ſtops up that in which it before ran.*

In confirmation of all which, let it be remembered, that this way of watering by rills is in uſe in thoſe countries from whence Sennacherib came [5]; continued down from ancient times there, without doubt, as it is in Ægypt.

The underſtanding thoſe words of the Pſalmiſt, Pſ. lxv. 9, "Thou viſiteſt the "earth and watereſt it, thou greatly en-"richeſt it with the *river of God,*" of the watering it as by a rill of water, makes an eaſy and beautiful ſenſe; the rain being to the earth in general the ſame thing from God, that a watering-rill, or little river, is to a garden from man.

XIII. Observation XX.

As the people of theſe countries endeavoured to diſtreſs thoſe that came to beſiege them, by concealing their waters, ſo thoſe on the other hand frequently cut down the

[5] Thevenot, part 2. p. 50, 51.

moſt

moſt valuable trees of their enemies. This Moſes forbad to be done in Canaan; but the Moabites were puniſhed after this manner, according to 2 Kings iii. 19, 25.

The Arabs of the Holy-Land, we are told, ſtill make war after this manner on each other, burning the corn, *cutting down the olive-trees*, carrying off the ſheep, and doing one another all poſſible damage; excepting that theſe Arabian villagers never touch one another's lives [1]. The Turks in like manner are wont to cut down the mulberry-trees of the Maronites, which are of great importance to them for feeding their ſilk-worms, (ſilk being one of the greateſt articles their country affords,) when they would diſtreſs thoſe poor Chriſtians: ſo Dr. Pococke tells us, he himſelf, when he viſited Mount Lebanon, ſaw a great number of their young mulberry-trees, which had been cut down by a Paſha, who had ſome demands upon them which they could not anſwer [2].

Observation XXI. XIV.

But beſides fortified towns and cities, we find that in the time of the Croiſades they were wont to have *towers*, for the people of *open towns* to fly to in time of danger.

[1] See Egmont and Heyman, vol. 1. p. 303, and p. 329. Haſſelquiſt, p. 143, 144. [2] Vol. 2. p. 97.

Thus in the reign of Baldwin II, when the ſtrength of the kingdom was collected together to the ſiege of Tyre, the people of Aſcalon ſuddenly invaded the country about Jeruſalem, William of Tyre telleth us, and put to the ſword the greateſt part of the inhabitants of a town called Mahomeria, five or ſix miles from Jeruſalem; but the old men, the women, and the children, by betaking themſelves to a *tower*, eſcaped [1].

Towers of this ſort ſeem to have been uſed very anciently. Judges ix. 51. gives us a ſtory exactly like the Archbiſhop's; and the mention of them in the Old Teſtament hiſtory ſhews the dangerouſneſs of thoſe times [2].

[1] Geſta Dei &c, p. 840. [2] Sir John Chardin, in his MS, cannot admit that it was only a *piece* of a mill-ſtone that was thrown on the head of Abimelech, and occaſioned his death: he ſuppoſes it was one of the two mill-ſtones, which was thrown down whole and entire by the woman. This aroſe doubtleſs from his obſerving the *ſmallneſs* of the ſtones uſed in their hand-mills; and that it was not ſo natural to ſuppoſe the pieces of a broken mill-ſtone ſhould be at hand on this occaſion as a whole one. The error of our tranſlation, if it be one, is not ſo evident to me as to this writer: I cannot, however, but obſerve here, that Sir John's way of rendering the words ſeemeth to be very much favoured by Job 41. 24, "His heart is as firm "as a *ſtone*, yea, as hard as a piece of the nether mill-"ſtone." They might very well think it right to place the hardeſt mill-ſtone below; but is a *piece* harder than a ſtone that is whole? A mill is compoſed of two pieces of ſtone; and I ſhould think it is ſufficiently plain that the words *there* are to be underſtood of the *lower piece*, not of a fragment of that lower piece.]

There were anciently towers alſo in their vineyards, Iſ. v. 2, and Matt. xxi. 33, are proofs of it; and it ſhould ſeem in their gardens, Cant. vii. 4. They have alſo retained *theſe towers* in the Eaſt. So Marcus Sanutus tells us, that the inhabitants of Ptolemais beat down the *towers of their gardens* to the ground, and removed the ſtones of them, together with thoſe of their burying-place, upon the approach of the Tartars in one thouſand two hundred and ſixty[3]. Sandys alſo ſpeaks of numbers of them in the country between Jeruſalem and Bethlehem[4]; and Maundrell mentions the ſame ſort of edifices, in his more modern account of the gardens of Damaſcus[5]; which confirms the account William of Tyre gives us of the gardens of the Levant in the twelfth century[6].

To a tower of this laſt kind, it is to be imagined, our Lord refers in Luke xiv. 28: for I can hardly think, with ſome commentators, that he is ſpeaking of the ſlight and unexpenſive buildings in a vineyard, which indeed are ſometimes ſo ſlight as to conſiſt only of four poles with a floor on the top of them, to which they aſcend by a ladder[7]; but rather of thoſe elegant turrets erected in

[3] Geſta Dei per Francos, tom. 2. p. 221. [4] P. 137. [5] P. 122. [6] Erant præterea intra ipſa pomeriorum ſepta, *domus eminentes & excelſæ*, quas viris pugnaturis communierant, &c. Geſta Dei &c, p 911. [7] See Pococke, vol. 2. p. 137.

gardens, where the Eaſtern people of fortune ſpend ſome conſiderable part of their time.

Theſe towers are not deſigned for ſtrength, but pomp, and perhaps convenience and pleaſure. Nor do thoſe *other towers*, deſigned for ſafety in times of danger, ſeem to have been very ſtrong, but rather intended for a *ſhort defence* in thoſe unquiet times, when enemies were wont to make ſudden irruptions into that country, and as ſuddenly retreat: for when Saladine could not force the city of Berytus, but thought fit to draw off, he nevertheleſs could, and did, demoliſh all the towers of the adjacent villages [8]. So Baldwin II, of Jeruſalem [9], returning victorious from fighting with the king of Damaſcus, forced a tower in his way home, in which were ninety-ſix of his enemies; and undermined another, in which were twenty, who were obliged to give it up without any farther difficulty, upon which he entirely demoliſhed it [10]. Gideon in like manner ſeems without much difficulty to have demoliſhed the *tower* of Penuel, Judges viii. 9, 17.

[8] Geſta Dei &c, p. 1030. [9] P. 844. [10] William of Tyre mentions another tower in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, built of unburnt brick, but fled to for refuge, which being *undermined*, fell upon the prince that was endeavouring to take it, and well-nigh cruſhed him to death. Geſta Dei, p. 853.

Observation XXII. XV.

William of Tyre deſcribes a country not far from the Euphrates, as inhabited by Syrian and Armenian Chriſtians, who fed great flocks and herds there, but were in ſubjection to the Turks, who though few in number, yet living in ſtrong places among them, kept them under, and received tribute from theſe poor peaſants who inhabited the villages, and employed themſelves in country buſineſs [1].

I do not know whether this may not give us a truer view, of the deſign of thoſe *towers* that Uzziah built in the wilderneſs, mentioned 2 Chron. xxvi. 10, than commentators have done [2], who have ſuppoſed they were conveniences made for ſheltering the ſhepherds from bad weather, or to defend them from the incurſions of enemies; for they might rather be deſigned to keep the nations that paſtured there in awe—to prevent their diſputing with his ſervants about wells [3], and alſo to induce them quietly to pay that tribute to which the ſeventh and eighth verſes ſeem to refer.

Observation XXIII.

[People too retired to the *mountains* anciently when defeated in war: they do ſo ſtill.

[1] P. 950. [2] See Patrick upon the place. [3] See Gen. 21. 25, and ch. 26. 20, 21.

Dr. Shaw indeed ſeems to ſuppoſe, that there was no greater ſafety in the *hills* than in the *plains* of this country: *that there were few or no places of difficult acceſs; and that both of them laid* equally *expoſed to the inſults and outrages of an enemy*, page 340. But in this point this ingenious writer ſeems to be miſtaken: ſince, as we find that thoſe that remained of the armies of the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fled *to the mountains*, in the days of Abraham, Gen. xiv. 10; ſo d'Arvieux tells us, that the rebel peaſants of the Holy-Land, who were defeated while he was in that country by the Arabs, in the plain of Gonin, *fled towards the mountains, whither the Arabs could not purſue them at that time*[1].

So in like manner, the Archbiſhop of Tyre tells us, that Baldwin IV, one of the Croiſade Kings of Jeruſalem, ravaging a place called the Valley of Bacar, a country remarkably fruitful, *the inhabitants fled to the mountains, whither our troops could not eaſily follow them*[2].

This flying to hills and mountains for ſafety, is frequently alluded to in Scripture.]

XVI. Observation XXIV.

In the Croiſade wars, their encampments ſeem often to have been much leſs ſtrong

[1] Voy. dans la Pal. p. 78, 79. [2] Ad quos non erat facilè iter noſtris pervium. Geſta Dei, p. 1003.

than

than in modern times, and we may believe that of Saul, when he purſued after David, was ſtill leſs guarded.

One can hardly imagine then, that the Hebrew word Magnagal ſignifies a ditch and bank thrown up, 1 Sam. xxvi. 5, as one would ſuppoſe our tranſlators apprehended, from their uſing the word *trench*; for it appears from the ſtory that they took no precautions againſt David. Nor doth it ſeem to mean a *ring of carriages*, as it is ſuppoſed in the margin, and as Buxtorf interprets the word [1], for moſt probably the paſſing of carriages was impracticable in that mountainous country. It ſeems ſimply then to mean *the round* theſe troops formed, in the midſt of which, as in the place of honour, Saul ſlept.

The view D'Arvieux gives us of a modern Arab camp agrees perfectly well with this account of Saul, only ſuppoſing, that for the ſake of expedition they carried no tents with them; for he tells us, an Arab camp is always *round* when the diſpoſition of the ground will permit, *the prince being in the middle*, and the Arabs about him, but ſo as to leave a reſpectful diſtance between them [2]. Add to this, that their *lances are fixed near them in the ground* all the day long, ready for action [3].

[1] Vide Buxtorfii Epit. Rad. Heb. [2] Voy. dans la Pal. p. 173, 174. [3] P. 169.

When David is repreſented as ſometimes ſecreting himſelf in the night, when he was with his armies, inſtead of lodging with the people, 2 Sam. xvii. 8, 9, it is to be ſuppoſed to refer to his not lodging in the middle of the camp, which was the proper place for a king, the better to avoid any ſurprize from enemies.

XVII. OBSERVATION XXV.

The 2 Sam. xi. 1. *ſeems* to ſuppoſe, there was one particular *time of the year* to which the operations of war were limited. This however was not obſerved *in that country* in the time of the Croiſades, as we may aſſuredly collect from the writers of thoſe times, and as may be learnt from the following table: for there being no index to the Geſta Dei per Francos, I have taken the pains to mark down the times when ſuch and ſuch military exploits were performed, that William of Tyre and the other Croiſade writers have particularly mentioned, ſo far as I have obſerved them; by which it appears, that the princes of the Eaſt and of the Weſt in thoſe wars confined themſelves to no particular time.

We meet however with traces of theſe limitations elſewhere: ſo Sir John Chardin, ſpeaking of the Baſha of Baſra, who endeavoured in his time to erect himſelf into

an

an independent ſovereign, tells us [1], that "perceiving in the ſpring, that the Turkiſh "armies were prepared to thunder upon "him the next *September* or *October*, (for "the heat of thoſe climates will not permit "them to take the field ſooner,) he ſent "before-hand to offer his territory to the "king of Perſia." [2] The contrary however obtained in the Croiſade wars, of which the proofs follow.

The TABLE.

January.

All the forces of the kingdom of Jeruſalem aſſembled together in this month, and a long and ſevere fight enſued between Baldwin II. and the king of Damaſcus, near the laſt-mentioned city, on the twenty-eighth day of it, Geſta Dei, p. 843, 844.

Aſſembled again, and began the ſiege of Aſcalon, p. 923.

All the forces of this kingdom of Jeruſalem, as well horſe as foot, aſſembled again

[1] [In his MS, which I have frequently cited, he ſuppoſes April was the time kings were wont to go out to war. His words (in a note on 2 Sam. xi. 1,) are, "Roys "& armees ne ſortent que quand y a de l'herbe a la cam-"pagne pour les beſtes, & qu'on peut camper, c. en "Avril." That is, *Kings and armies do not march but when there is graſs, and when they can encamp, which time is April.* Different countries may find different ſeaſons moſt convenient for marching; but it ſeems religious animoſity made them do what national complaints would not.]

[2] Coron. of Solyman III. p. 146.

in the time of king Amalric, and ſet out on the thirtieth for Ægypt, p. 963.

February.

Baldwin I. having aſſembled all his troops, began the ſiege of Berytus in this month, and continued it to the twenty-ſeventh of April, when he took it, p. 803, 804.

Siege of Tyre began by the Patriarch of Jeruſalem, February the fifteenth, p. 830, which held till July, when Tyre was ſurrendered, p. 439.

March.

Turks ſet out for the country about Jordan in March, which they harraſſed for three months, p. 372.

Rapfanea beſieged eighteen days together, by the Count of Tripoli and Baldwin II. of Jeruſalem, and taken the laſt day of this month, p. 845.

April.

The united forces of the kingdoms of Jeruſalem and Damaſcus came before Paneas the firſt of May, having been aſſembled to oppoſe the Turkiſh prince of Aleppo, who entering the kingdom of Damaſcus, came as far as a place called Raſaline, and continued ſome time with his army there, till, finding the forces of theſe two kingdoms were united together againſt him, he drew off; after which, they ſat down before Paneas : the

move-

movements conſequently that preceded the ſiege of Paneas muſt have been in April, p. 876, 877.

MAY.

Fight between Baldwin I. and a great Ægyptian army, not far from Aſcalon, in the middle of May, p. 413. Another fight between an Ægyptian army and the Patriarch of Jeruſalem, near Aſcalon, in this month, p. 432.

In conſequence of a general meeting at Acco, all the troops of the kingdom of Jeruſalem were aſſembled at Tiberias, the twenty-fifth of May, from whence they marched againſt Damaſcus, and after ſome time returned unſucceſsful, p. 910—914.

JUNE.

Baldwin I. ſet out for the relief of Edeſſa, beſieged by the Turks, p. 362; and again for the relief of a place near Mount Tabor, in the end of June, p. 372.

Baldwin III. after having raiſed the ſiege of Paneas, fell into an ambuſh, and had his army routed with great ſlaughter, the 19th of June, p. 941.

JULY.

A ſucceſsful expedition of Godfrey king of Jeruſalem againſt ſome Arabs in this month, p. 775.

Bald-

Baldwin II. croſſed Jordan with his army againſt the king of Damaſcus, and ſome Arabs allied with him, p. 430.

A battle between Baldwin III. and Noradine, on the fifteenth day of it, p. 946.

And in the reign of Amalric, Saladine came againſt him with a great army out of Ægypt in July, whither he returned the end of the following September, p. 993.

AUGUST.

Baldwin II. gained a great victory over a powerful Turk, the king of Damaſcus, and the prince of the Arabs, on the fourteenth of Auguſt, p. 823.

Noradine gained a great victory over the Chriſtian prince of Antioch, &c, on the tenth of this month, p. 960, 961.

Baldwin IV. aſſembled his troops on the firſt of this month, and marched into the territories of the kingdom of Damaſcus, p. 1003.

The beginning of this month Saladine beſieged Berytus, and his Ægyptian troops beſieged a place in the ſouthern border of the kingdom of Jeruſalem, p. 1029.

SEPTEMBER.

Great fight between Baldwin I. and the Ægyptians on the eighth of Sept. p. 313.

Amalric aſſembled a great army againſt Ægypt, and on the firſt of September went down thither, p. 958.

OCTO-

OCTOBER.

The ſame prince, having aſſembled his forces, ſet out again for Ægypt about the middle of October, and beſieging Peluſium, took it the third of November, p. 978.

NOVEMBER.

Baldwin I. ſet out from Jeruſalem to beſiege Tyre on the eve of St. Andrew, (November 29,) p. 370.

Baldwin IV. gave Saladine a great overthrow on the twenty-fifth of this month, not far from Aſcalon, p. 1010.

DECEMBER.

Baruth beſieged by Baldwin I. in December, p. 362.

Baldwin II. marched with a view to take Damaſcus, but ſoon after his arrival in its neighbourhood, he was obliged to return home by the violence of the rains, which fell about the ſixth of December, p. 849.

Saladine having aſſembled his Ægyptian forces, and thoſe of the kingdom of Damaſcus, attacked a place belonging to the king of Jeruſalem in this month, againſt whom Amalric marched from Aſcalon on the eighteenth of December, p. 986.

An expedition undertaken in December, 1182, under the conduct of the Count of Tripoli, for which they prepared proviſion and forage for fifteen days; and on the fifteenth

teenth of this month the king of Jeruſalem himſelf ſet out againſt Damaſcus, and ravaged the country about it, p. 1033.

We meet then, in theſe hiſtorians, with expeditions or battles in every month of the year. There is, however, one ſtory which the Archbiſhop of Tyre tells us, that ſeems to confirm Sir John Chardin's account, and to ſhew, that though the *active and ſuperſtitious* zeal of thoſe times might not regard it, the ſummer was no proper time for war in thoſe countries; and that is where he tells us, that in a battle fought between Baldwin IV. and Saladine, *in Galilee*, as many periſhed in both armies by the violence of the heat as by the ſword[3]. But I muſt add, that it is obſerved by the hiſtorian, that the violence of the heat which proved ſo deadly to the ſoldiers of Baldwin and Saladine, was much greater than uſual.

XVIII. OBSERVATION XXVI.

The account of that expedition of Baldwin II. in December, mentioned under that month in the preceding article, when given more at large, is this. That Baldwin, with other princes, marching to Damaſcus, fully reſolved to take it by ſurrender or ſtorm, met with a check in foraging, which enraged the army ſo much, that they immediately

[3] Geſta Dei, p. 1028.

flew

flew to their arms, to chaſtiſe the affront without more delay: *when ſuddenly God, againſt whoſe will men can do nothing, ſent ſuch violent ſhowers, ſuch darkneſs in the ſky, ſuch difficulty in the roads, by means of the vaſt quantities of water in them, that ſcarce any one could hope for life. Which the darkneſs of the air, and thickneſs of the clouds, the irregular blowing of the winds, alſo the thunders and continual lightnings, ſignified before-hand. But as the human mind is ignorant of futurity, they did not attend to the Divine patience calling to deſiſt, but, on the contrary, ſtrove to proceed in an impoſſible attempt.* The intemperateneſs of the weather however obliged them, this author obſerves, to deſiſt; and made them, who had been at firſt ſuch a terror to their enemies that they had no hopes of eſcaping, look upon it to be a mighty thing to be able to get back again [1].

I cite this long account from William of Tyre, becauſe it may be conſidered as a comment on 1 Sam. vii. 10, 11, "The Philiſtines drew near to battle againſt Iſrael: but the Lord *thundered with a great thunder* on that day upon the Philiſtines, and *diſcomfited* them, and they were ſmitten before Iſrael; and the men of Iſrael went out of Mizpeh, and purſued the Philiſtines, and ſmote them, until, &c." In this however they differed, that the people

[1] Geſta Dei &c, p. 849.

of

of Damaſcus did not improve the advantage with the vigour that Iſrael did.

XIX. OBSERVATION XXVII.

Had hail been mingled with the rain, Baldwin's army would have been in a ſtill more dangerous ſituation: ſuch hail as that Albertus Aquenſis deſcribes, which fell when Baldwin I. was with his army in the mountains of Arabia, beyond the dead ſea; at the top of which, he telleth us, they had to encounter with the *greateſt dangers*, from an horrible hail, terrible ice, unheard-of rain and ſnow, which were ſuch, that thirty of the foot died with cold [1].

Something of this kind, I preſume, the Canaanites ſuffered in their flight from Joſhua, in a *mountainous* part of Judæa, Joſhua x. 11. But it muſt have been *much more deſtructive* to people that were fleeing before their enemies, than to thoſe Albertus mentions; as they doubtleſs had thrown away their clothes in part for the ſake of expedition [2], dared not to ſtop for ſhelter, and were running along in a mountainous place, among precipices [3].

OBSER-

[1] Geſta Dei &c, p. 307. [2] See 2 Kings 7. 15.
[3] The danger of which is ſufficiently ſeen, in the account William of Tyre has given of the flight of ſome Turks that came to take Jeruſalem, but were received by the inhabitants with ſuch gallantry, that fleeing from them, along the mountainous road that leads from that city to Jordan,

OBSERVATION XXVIII. XX.

Saladine's army, which was defeated by Baldwin IV. near Gaza, ſuffered in like manner in their flight by rain and cold; but I mention it not to illuſtrate either Joſhua x. 11, or 1 Sam. vii. 10, 11, but on the account of its being a picture *in other reſpects* of the flight of the Syrians, mentioned 2 Kings vii. 15. "And they went after them "unto *Jordan*, and lo, all the way was full "of *garments* and *veſſels*, which the Syrians "had caſt away in their haſte."

Saladine's army in like manner, being vigorouſly purſued till night came on, and as far as a certain ſtanding water, ſurrounded with reeds, twelve miles off, were continually cut off in great numbers. To fly therefore with greater expedition, they threw away their *arms* and *clothes*, and abandoned their baggage, and by this means ſome of thoſe that were ſtrongeſt, and had ſwift horſes [1], eſcaped; the reſt were killed or taken.

Jordan, many of them fell headlong down the precipices, and miſerably periſhed, Geſta Dei, &c. p. 922, 923.

[1] D'Arvieux tells us, *the Arabs generally ride* mares, *as more proper for their purpoſe; experience having taught them, that they can better endure fatigue, hunger, and thirſt, than male animals of that ſpecies; they are alſo more gentle, leſs vicious, and produce annually a foal.* He adds, that *their mares never neigh, and are therefore more proper for their lying in ambuſh.* Voy. dans la Paleſtine, chap. 11. The tranſlators of the Septuagint ſeem to have had the

taken. Thoſe that eſcaped as far as the above-mentioned fenny place, if they had any thing of weight *ſtill* remaining, ſuch as coats of mail, or greaves of iron, threw them among the reeds, or ſtill farther into the water itſelf, that they might move quicker, and that the armour, being concealed in the water, might neither be of any after-ſervice to the Chriſtians, nor be kept by them as trophies of their victory. But in vain: for thoſe that cloſely purſued them, diligently ſearched that place, that night and the following day, and with proper inſtruments quickly found what they had concealed in it; "and we have been informed," ſays the hiſtorian, "by people of credit, "who were eye-witneſſes, that an hundred "coats of mail were drawn out of that "place in one day, beſides iron boots, and "things which, though of leſs weight, were "both uſeful and valuable." He then mentions how miſerably theſe naked fugitives were harraſſed with inceſſant rains, and unuſual cold weather, which began the next day, and continued ten days together[z].

ſame notion, tranſlating that word which our verſion renders *ſtalls* by a term which ſignifies *females*, 1 Kings 4. 26, 2 Chron. 9. 25. It doth not appear that their tranſlation is juſt; but it plainly marks out, that they ſuppoſed Solomon's war-horſes were, like the modern Arab cavalry, of the female gender. An obſervation which may not, perhaps, be diſpleaſing to ſome of my readers, as the Septuagint tranſlation might otherwiſe appear a very ſtrange one.]

[z] Geſta Dei, p. 1010.

The Syrians, ſtruck with a panic, left many of *their garments* in like manner in the road to Jordan, and of their *veſſels*, or *arms*, as I ſuppoſe that word means, as Saladine's army did, (for the original word in the book of Kings is known to ſignify arms as well as veſſels,) and the reſt *perhaps* were thrown into the *river*.

The *horſes* and *aſſes* that were left in the camp, according to the ſeventh verſe, were doubtleſs the beaſts of burden, uſed by them for the carriage of their tents and proviſions, which their terror made them leave behind; and as the troops of the Syrians ſeem to have been horſe, ſee 2 Kings vi. 15, it is no wonder they made no uſe of their heavier moving animals in their flight, but left them.

Observation XXIX. XXI.

This flight of the Syrians puts us in mind of another flight of theirs, mentioned in the 1 Kings, in the account of which a circumſtance is mentioned that engages attention: "And his ſervants ſaid unto him," (Benhadad,) "Behold now, we have heard that "the kings of the houſe of Iſrael are mer- "ciful kings: let us, I pray thee, put "ſackcloth on our loins, and *ropes upon our* "*heads*, and *go out to the king of Iſrael*; per- "adventure he will ſave thy life. So they "girded ſackcloth on their loins, and put

" ropes on their heads, and came to the " king of Iſrael [1].

The approaching perſons with a *ſword hanging to the neck* is, in the Eaſt. thought to be a very humble and ſubmiſſive coming before them. So William of Tyre, deſcribing the great ſolemnity and humiliation with which the governor of Ægypt, under the Caliph of that country, appeared before his maſter, tells us, he proſtrated himſelf on the ground thrice, with his ſword hanging to his neck, which at the third proſtration he took off and laid down [2].

And, what is more to the purpoſe, Thevenot has mentioned this circumſtance, in the account he has given of the taking of Bagdat by the Turks, in one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty eight, drawn from a letter, written by a perſon of diſtinction in the Turkiſh army to one of the Sangiacks of Ægypt: for, upon the begging for quarter by the beſieged, he that was the *lieutenant and principal officer* of the governor of Bagdat, we are told, went to the Grand Vizier with a *ſcarf about his neck*, and his *ſword* wreathed in it; which is, he ſays, an *ignominious* mark of ſubmiſſion, and begged, both in his own and maſter's name, Aman, that is to ſay, pardon and mercy; and having obtained it, the governor came, and was introduced to the Grand Signior, and obtained not only a confirmation of the pro-

[1] 1 Kings 20. 31, 32. [2] Geſta Dei, p. 965.

miſe

miſe of life that had been made him, but divers preſents too of value [3].

Thevenot ſuppoſed the hanging the ſword about the neck was an *ignominious* mark of ſubmiſſion; but its being uſed by the governor of Ægypt, when he appeared before his maſter, ſhews, that though it was an expreſſion of humiliation and *perfect ſubmiſſion*, it was not an *ignominious* one; but a token it undoubtedly was of ſuch reſpect, as was thought proper for the conquered to pay the victor when they begged their lives; and as ſuch was uſed, I ſuppoſe, by Ben-hadad; for thoſe ropes about the necks of his ſervants were, I ſhould imagine, what they ſuſpended their ſwords with, if the cuſtoms of later times may be thought to be explanatory of thoſe of elder days, as in the Eaſt they often are.

Observation XXX. XXII.

Ben-hadad was received to mercy, and treated with reſpect; and upon this occaſion promiſed to reſtore to the kingdom of Iſrael, the cities his father had taken from it, *And thou ſhalt make*, ſaid he to Ahab, *ſtreets for thee in Damaſcus, as my father made in Samaria.*

This was a propoſal better reliſhed by Ahab, than underſtood by commentators. Biſhop Patrick tells us, ſome ſuppoſe the

[3] Part 1. p. 289.

word ſignifies market-places, where things were ſold, the toll of which ſhould belong to Ahab; others think, he meant courts of judicature, where he ſhould exerciſe a juriſdiction over the Syrians; others, what we now call a piazza [1], of which he ſhould receive the rents; but commonly, he ſays, interpreters underſtand by the word fortifications, or citadels, as we now ſpeak; none of which ſuppoſitions however, it ſeems, pleaſed Gotf. Vallandus, who attempts to prove that palaces are meant, the building of which by Ahab being a great token of ſubjection in Ben-hadad.

Perhaps the privileges which we know were actually granted to the Venetians, for their aid, by the States of the kingdom of Jeruſalem in the time of the captivity of Baldwin II, may more ſatisfactorily explain theſe words of Ben-hadad. William of Tyre, the greateſt hiſtorian of the Croiſades, has preſerved that ancient inſtrument [2], which the curious reader may conſult, and in which he will find ample room for the exerciſe of the talents of an antiquary. It will be ſufficient here to obſerve, that it appears from that convention, as well as from the

[1] Or rather what is called by Rauwolff a fondique, champ, carvatſchara, or caravanſerie, p. 24, 30, and by others a kane; that is a great houſe, built like a cloiſter round a great court-yard, and full of warehouſes and apartments, in which foreign merchants are wont to live, or travellers to repair as to an inn. [2] Geſta Dei, p. 830, 831.

accounts

accounts that he has elſewhere given of the privileges granted to other nations for their aſſiſtance, that they were wont to aſſign *churches*, and to give *ſtreets*, in their towns and cities, to thoſe foreign nations, together with great liberties and juriſdiction in theſe *ſtreets*. Thus that hiſtorian tells us, that the Genoeſe had a ſtreet in Accon, or St. John d'Acre, together with *full juriſdiction* in it, and a church, as a reward for taking that city [3], together with a third part of the dues of the port. So the above-mentioned ancient inſtrument very clearly ſhews that the Venetians had a *ſtreet* alſo in Accon; and explains what this *full juriſdiction* in a ſtreet means, by giving them liberty to have in their ſtreet there an oven, mill, bagnio [4], weights and meaſures for wine, oil, and honey, if they thought fit, and alſo to judge cauſes among themſelves, together with as great a juriſdiction over all thoſe that dwelt in their *ſtreet and houſes*, of whatever nation they might be, as the king of Jeruſalem had over others.

May we not believe, that the ſame, or nearly the ſame franchiſes and regalities that were granted the Venetians and Genoeſe, to

[3] P. 791. [4] The privilege of having a bagnio of their own, is explained by ſomething mentioned p. 878; as is that of having weights and meaſures, by a paragraph in p. 124: it appearing that the bagnios paid certain duties to the Eaſtern princes of thoſe times, who alſo received ſome of their dues from weights and meaſures.

obtain aid from them, the father of Ahab had granted to Ben-hadad's father to obtain peace, and which Ben-hadad, upon this fatal turn of his affairs, propoſed to grant to Ahab in Damaſcus—A quarter for his ſubjects to live in, and which he ſhould poſſeſs, and enjoy the ſame juriſdiction over, as he did the reſt of his kingdom. Such a power in Samaria, and ſuch a making over a part of it to him, in annexing it to the kingdom of Syria, with a right of building ſuch idol-temples as he thought fit, was a ſufficient diſgrace to the father of Ahab; and the propoſing to give Ahab now a like honour in Damaſcus, an expreſſion of a very abject adulation in Ben-hadad. The things that commentators have mentioned, are either not of importance enough to anſwer the general repreſentation of matters in the hiſtory; or abſolutely deſtructive: a medium is to be ſought for.

Observation XXXI.

[As the Indians of North America are not content with killing their enemies, but produce their *ſcalps* as proofs of the number they have deſtroyed; it will not be thought ſtrange, I preſume, that *ſomething of the like kind* obtained *anciently* in Aſia too, but it is ſurprizing to find ſome traces of it *ſtill* there.

Theſe

These ocular proofs of their success in war are agreeable enough to unpolished times: such was the age of Saul, when he required some *unequivocal marks* of David's having destroyed an hundred Philistines, or at least Heathens, and that they should be brought before him, 1 Sam. xviii. 25, 27. But it is somewhat astonishing to find something of the like sort lately practised in so polite a country as Persia; yet the MS. C. assures us, that in the *war of the Persians against the Yuzbecs, the Persians took the beards* (of their enemies) *and carried them to the king.* Strange custom to be retained!]

Observation XXXII. XXIII.

Apprehensive of these fatal turns in war, they were wont anciently to perform very solemn devotions before they went out to battle, and it should seem at particular *places.* So it is said that the Israelites, in the time of Judas the Maccabee, assembled themselves to Maspha, over-against Jerusalem; for that in Maspha was the place where *they prayed aforetime in Israel,* 1 Macc. iii. 46.

The desolation of the temple, and the Gentiles being in possession of a strong place adjoining to it, might induce Judas to assemble the people at some other place: the forty-fifth verse seems to assign these reasons for it; but that Maspha should be chosen as a place *where they before prayed in Israel on*

ſuch public occaſions, is ſtrange, as it doth not appear that either the *Tabernacle* or the *Ark* were ever placed there, in the times preceding the building of the temple at Jeruſalem.

Nevertheleſs, the Apocryphal writer ſeems to be juſtified in what he ſays, by Judges xx. 1, and 1 Sam. vii. 5—7, ſuppoſing Maſpha means the ſame place with Mizpah, of which no one doubts. For the firſt paſſage teaches us that Iſrael aſſembled *before the Lord* at Mizpah, at a time when the *Ark* was at Bethel, according to the twenty-ſeventh verſe of that chapter; and by the ſecond it appears that Samuel convened the people at Mizpah, in order to prepare them by *ſolemn devotions* for war with the Philiſtines, and that the Philiſtines underſtood a meeting of Iſrael at Mizpah to be introductory to war, and by the firſt verſe of that chapter it appears, that the *Ark* was at that time at Kirjath-Jearim. As for the *Tabernacle*, it is not ſuppoſed to have ever been at Mizpah.

I confeſs this has often perplexed me. A paſſage I met with in the firſt volume of Pococke's Travels into the Eaſt [1], recalled this difficulty to my mind, with the pleaſing thought, that *poſſibly* it might ſerve to explain it. What the learned may think of it, I do not know; but I would offer it to their conſideration, whether the cuſtom he men-

[1] P. 36.

tions

tions may not be a *remain of ancient Eaſtern uſages*.

Pococke's account is this: "Near Cairo, "beyond the Moſque of Sheik Duiſe, and in "the neighbourhood of a burial-place of "the ſons of ſome Paſhas, on an hill, is a "ſolid building of ſtone, about three feet "wide, built with ten ſteps, being at the "top about three feet ſquare, on which the "Sheik mounts to pray on any extraordi-"nary occaſion, when *all the people* go out, "as at the *beginning of a war*; and here in "Ægypt, when the Nile does not riſe as "they expect it ſhould; and ſuch a place "they have without all the towns through-"out Turkey."

There are ſeveral remarkable Moſques, according to Pococke's account, in and about Cairo, one of them of ſurprizing magnificence, another of great antiquity, yet none of theſe are made uſe of, it ſeems, on theſe occaſions; but this little place near the Moſque of Sheik Duiſe is appropriated to this ſervice.

Every town in Turkey, according to this author, has ſuch a place. If this is exact, it does not appear however that they were antiently ſo common in Judæa. Mizpah, if not the only place where prayers of this ſort were wont to be made, which indeed we can hardly ſuppoſe, was at leaſt celebrated on this account, and was perhaps near ſome plentiful

plentiful fountain of water [z], or otherwiſe proper for the aſſembling Iſrael together for war.

Observation XXXIII.

[It is not a very unuſual thing, it ſeems, in the Eaſt, for perſons to carry *their whole family* with them, when they go to war.

The mention of *little ones*, as being with Ittai the Gittite, when he attended King David flying before his ſon Abſalom, 2 Sam. xv. 22, appears very ſtrange to us; and for this reaſon it ſeems to be, that Sir J. Chardin tells us, in a note on that place, in his MS, that it is *uſual with the greateſt part of the Eaſtern people* to do thus, and eſpecially the *Arabs*.]

xxiv. ## Observation XXXIV.

The ſatisfaction Ben-hadad received, touching the ſafety of his life, appears to have been by *words*; but it ſeems that the modern Eaſtern people, have looked upon the *giving them a banner* as a more ſure pledge of protection.

So Albertus Aquenſis telleth us, that when Jeruſalem was taken in 1099, about three hundred Saracens got upon the roof of a very lofty building, and earneſtly begged for quarter, but could not be induced by

[z] See Obſervation XVI.

any

any *promiſes* of ſafety to come down, untill they had received the *banner* of Tancred, (one of the chiefs of the Croiſade army,) as a pledge of life. It did not indeed avail them, as that hiſtorian obſerves; for their behaviour occaſioned ſuch indignation, that they were deſtroyed to a man [1]. The event ſhewed the faithleſſneſs of theſe zealots, whom no ſolemnities could bind; but the Saracens ſurrendering themſelves upon the delivery of a ſtandard to them, proves in what a ſtrong light they looked upon the giving them a banner, ſince it induced them to truſt it, when they would not truſt any promiſes.

Perhaps the delivery of a banner was anciently eſteemed, in like manner, an obligation to protect, and that the Pſalmiſt might conſider it in this light [2], when, upon a victory gained over the Syrians and Edomites, after the *public affairs* of Iſrael had been in a bad ſtate, he ſays, "Thou haſt ſhewed "thy people *hard things*, &c, Thou haſt "*given a banner* to them that fear thee." Though thou didſt for a time give up thine Iſrael into the hands of their enemies, thou haſt now given them an aſſurance of thy having received them under thy protection.

When the Pſalmiſt is repreſented as ſaying, "Thou haſt given a banner to them that "fear thee, that it may be *diſplayed*," it may be queſtioned whether it is rightly tranſlated,

[1] Geſta Dei &c, p. 282. [2] Pſ. 60. 3, 4.

ſince

ſince it is moſt probable that they uſed anciently only a ſpear, properly ornamented, to diſtinguiſh it from a common one, as this ſame Albertus telleth us, that a very long ſpear, covered all over with ſilver [3], to which another writer [4] of thoſe Croiſade wars adds a ball of gold on the top, was the *ſtandard* of the Ægyptian princes at that time, and carried before their armies. "Thou haſt given "a banner," (an enſign, or a ſtandard,) "to "them that fear thee, that it may be lifted "up," may perhaps be a better verſion; or rather, "that they may lift it up to themſelves [5]," or encourage themſelves with the confident perſuaſion that they are under the protection of God, "becauſe of the "truth," thy word of promiſe [6], which is an aſſurance of protection, like the *giving me and my people a banner*, the ſureſt of pledges.

Observation XXXV.

[Biſhop Patrick is ſilent about the deſign of the people concerned in the cutting off the head of King Saul, after his death, and the intention of David in taking away with him the head of Goliath, after he had certainly killed him by ſeparating it from his

[3] Geſta Dei &c, p. 288. Geſta Dei &c, p. 80.
[4] Robertus Monachus.
[5] For the word is of the conjugation called Hithpahel.
[6] 1 Chron. 17. 9, 10.

body;

body; but Sanctius very juſtly ſuppoſes, both were done in a way of triumph [1].

The inſtances Sanctius has produced, in confirmation of his ſuppoſition, are taken from the Roman and Grecian hiſtories; it will, perhaps, be a conſiderable addition to our ſatisfaction, to have ſome adduced from the managements of people whoſe cuſtoms more nearly reſemble thoſe of the Old Teſtament. I will therefore ſet down ſuch here.

Barbaroſſa, Morgan tells us, in his hiſtory of Algiers, having conquered the King of Cucco, and his army of African Highlanders, which Prince loſt his life in the conteſt, Barbaroſſa returned in triumph, *with the ſlain King's head carried before him on a lance* [2]. This is, I preſume, exactly what was done with the head of Saul: it was carried in triumph on a lance before the victorious general of the Philiſtine army, upon it's return to their own country.

David's taking away the head of Goliath, from the place where the dead body laid, is, I imagine, to be placed in a ſomewhat different light, and paralleled with another tranſaction in the ſame writer. The people of Tremizan, it ſeems, ſtruck off the head of an uſurping King, againſt whom they had complained to Barbaroſſa, after his flight from the field of battle, in which Barbaroſſa had worſted him, *and ſent it to Barbaroſſa on a lance's point* [3]. When then David

[1] Vide Poli Syn. in loc. [2] P. 232. [3] P. 249.

returned from the ſlaughter of the Philiſtine, and that Abner took him and brought him before Saul, with the head of the Philiſtine in his hand, 1 Sam. xvii. 57, we are to underſtand the paſſage, we have reaſon to believe, as ſignifying, that David having taken away the head, with a view to the *ſolemn preſenting it to Saul*[4], he was introduced into the royal preſence, holding a ſpear in his hand, with Goliath's head on the point of it, which he preſented with Eaſtern ceremony to his prince[5].

The unmartial engraver of the curious maps that ſo agreeably adorn Reland's Palæſtina has been very unhappy here: he repreſents David, in the ornamental part of the map of the country of the Philiſtines, as a youth with a great ſword in one hand, and holding up the head of Goliath in the other, like one of our executioners holding up the head of a traitor; his appearing before Saul *with the head of the Philiſtine in his hand* was, undoubtedly, in a very different attitude. But the ideas of multitudes that read the paſſage, we may juſtly believe, are much

[4] Niebuhr, I have lately obſerved, gives a ſimilar account of the Southern Arabs, p. 263. [5] The head of Iſhboſheth the ſon of Saul was, probably, preſented to David by Baanah and Rechab, with the ſame kind of parade, 2 Sam. 4. 8. Sometimes heads are carried in *baſons* in triumph. Dr. Perry gives two inſtances, p. 168 and 185. He alſo mentions eleven heads carried in a ſheet to a Baſhaw, and afterwards ranged on a bench in a public place, p. 189. Compare 2 Kings 10. 7, 8.

more

more conformable to thoſe of this Hollander, than to thoſe excited in the mind upon reading the ſtory in Morgan.

I would add, that as the arrangement of circumſtances in the hiſtory of Siſera will not allow us to imagine that Jael *preſented his head with ſolemnity* to Barak; or that ſhe cut it off, in order to *it's being carried in triumph before that general*; there is reaſon to believe that our verſion, in Judges v. 26, is not *exact* — "With the hammer ſhe "ſmote Siſera, ſhe *ſmote off* his head, when "ſhe had pierced and ſtricken through his "temples."

Different as this management is from our rules of war, ſome of the next Obſervations will give us an account of uſages ſtill more ſtrange in our apprehenſions, and eſpecially that which deſcribes the ſealing up of eyes.

Observation XXXVI.

They frequently cut off the *hands* and the *feet* of people in times of tumult and diſorder, and afterwards expoſe them, as well as the head; the ſame thing was done ſometimes anciently.

Lady Wortley Montague, ſpeaking of the Turkiſh Miniſters of State, tells us, "that if a Miniſter diſpleaſes the people, "in three hours time he is dragged even "from his maſter's arms; they cut off his "*hands*, head and *feet*, and throw them be-

" fore the palace-gate, with all the reſpect " in the world; while the Sultan (to whom " they all profeſs an unlimited adoration) " ſits trembling in his apartment, &c." Lett. v. 2. p. 19.

This cutting off the *hands and feet*, of thoſe that have behaved ill in matters of ſtate, ſtrange as it may ſeem to us, is only an old Eaſtern cuſtom, not yet worn out; for we find the *hands and feet* of the ſons of Rimmon, who ſlew Iſhboſheth, were cut off, and hanged up over the pool of Hebron, 2 Sam. iv. 12.

It ſeems then to be a falſe refinement in thoſe commentators who ſuppoſe the *hands* of Baanah and Rechab were cut off, becauſe they were employed in murdering Iſhboſheth; and their *feet*, becauſe they made uſe of them to go to the place of aſſaſſination, or in carrying off that prince's head: whatever may be thought of cutting off the aſſaſſinating hands, it cannot be pretended, with any ſhew of reaſon, that the *feet* were more guilty than any other limb. The truth ſeems to be, theſe were the parts wont to be cut off from ſtate-criminals, as well as their heads, whether they had or had not been particularly *acceſſary* to their guilt.

The hanging them up at the *pool* in Hebron ſeems to have been merely on account of it's being a place of great reſort.

I leave it to the curious to conſider, whether Providence deſigned any reference to this

this ancient punishment, in secretly directing the second fall of Dagon so, as that it's head, and palms of it's hands, were cut off, 1 Sam. v. 4.

Observation XXXVII.

The *treatment* of those that are shut up in *Eastern prisons* differs from our usages, but serves to illustrate several passages of Scripture.

The MS. C.[1] relates several circumstances concerning their prisons, which are curious, and should not be omitted.

In the first place, he tells us that the *Eastern prisons are not public buildings erected for that purpose; but a part of the house in which their criminal judges dwell. As the governor and provost of a town, or the captain of the watch, imprison such as are accused in their own houses, they set apart a canton of it for that purpose, when they are put into these offices, and choose for the jailor the most proper person they can find of their domestics.*

Sir John supposes the prison in which Joseph, together with the chief butler and chief baker of Pharaoh, was put, was in Potiphar's own house. But I would apply this account to the illustration of another passage of Scripture: "Wherefore," it is said Jer. xxxvii. 15, "the princes were "wroth with Jeremiah, and smote him, and

[1] Vol. 6.

" put him in priſon *in the houſe of Jonathan* " *the ſcribe*; for they had made that the " priſon." Here we ſee *a dwelling-houſe* was made a priſon; and the houſe of an *eminent perſon*, for it was the houſe of a *ſcribe*, which title, it ſhould ſeem, marks out a perſon of quality: it is certain it doth ſo in ſome other places of Jeremiah, particularly ch. xxxvi. 12, " Then he went down into the king's houſe " into the ſcribe's chamber, and lo, all the " *princes* ſat there, even Eliſhama the *ſcribe*, " and Delaiah, &c." The making the houſe of Jonathan the priſon, would not now in the Eaſt be doing him any diſhonour, or occaſion the looking upon him in a mean light; it would rather mark out the placing him in an office of importance. It is probable it was ſo anciently, and that his houſe became a priſon, when Jonathan was made the *royal ſcribe*, and became, like Eliſhama, one of the princes of the people.

A ſecond thing relating to the Eaſtern princes, taken notice of in this MS, is, that a diſcretionary power is given to the keeper to treat his priſoners juſt as he pleaſes, all that is required of him being only to produce them when called for; whereas in Europe their treatment is regulated by *humanity and equity*. After having remarked, that ſeveral things he mentions relating to the impriſonment of Joſeph, muſt appear very unaccountable to an European, he goes on to this purpoſe, *Thoſe that have obſerved the*

manners

manners of the modern Eaſtern people will find that the like things are practiſed among them: they have not different priſons for the different claſſes of criminals; the judges do not trouble themſelves about where the priſoners are confined, or how they are treated, they conſidering it merely as a place of ſafety, and all that they require of the jailor is, that the priſoner be forthcoming when called for. As to the reſt, he is maſter to do as he pleaſes, to treat him well or ill; to put him in irons or not; to ſhut him up cloſe, or hold him in eaſier reſtraint; to admit people to him, or to ſuffer nobody to ſee him. If the jailor and his ſervants have large fees, let a perſon be the greateſt raſcal in the world, he ſhall be lodged in the jailor's own apartment, and the beſt part of it; and, on the contrary, if thoſe that have impriſoned a man give the jailor greater preſents, or that he has a greater regard for them, he will treat the priſoner with the greateſt inhumanity. To illuſtrate this, he gives us the ſtory of the treatment a very great Armenian merchant met with: *treated with the greateſt careſſes upon the jailor's receiving a conſiderable preſent from him at firſt, and fleecing him after from time to time; then, upon the party's preſenting ſomething conſiderable, firſt to the judge, and afterwards to the jailor, who ſued the Armenian, the priſoner firſt felt his privileges retrenched, was then cloſely confined, was then treated with ſuch inhumanity as not to be permitted to drink above once in twenty-four hours, and this in the hotteſt time*

of ſummer, nor any body ſuffered to come near him but the ſervants of the priſon; and at length thrown into a dungeon, where he was, in a quarter of an hour, *brought to the point to which all this ſevere uſage was intended to force him.*

What energy doth this account of an *Eaſtern priſon* give to thoſe paſſages of Scripture, that ſpeak of the *ſighing* of the priſoner [2], and it's coming before God! of Jeremiah's being kept in a *dungeon* many days, and his ſupplicating that he might not be remanded thither, leſt he ſhould *die* there.[3]

Observation XXXVIII.

The *double* evidences of Jeremiah's purchaſe, which are mentioned ch. xxxii. 11, ſeems a ſtrange management in their civil concerns; yet ſomething of the like kind obtains ſtill among them.

Both the writings were in the hands of Jeremiah, and at his diſpoſal, ver. 14; for what purpoſe then were duplicates made? To thoſe that are unacquainted with Eaſtern uſages it muſt appear a queſtion of ſome difficulty.

"The open or unſealed writing," ſays an eminent commentator, "was either a *copy* "of the ſealed deed, or elſe a certificate of "the witneſſes, in whoſe preſence the deed

[2] Pſ. 79. 11. [3] Jer. 37. 16, 20.

"of

" of purchaſe was ſigned and ſealed [1]." But it ſtill recurs, of what uſe was a *copy* that was to be buried in the ſame earthen veſſel, and run exactly the ſame riſques with the original? If by a certificate is meant a deed of the witneſſes, by which they atteſted the contract of Jeremiah and Hananeel, and the original deed of purchaſe had no witneſſes at all, then it is natural to aſk, Why were they made *ſeparate* writings? and much more, Why was one ſealed, and not the other?

Sir J. Chardin's account of modern managements, which he thinks illuſtrates this ancient ſtory, is, *that after a contract is made, it is kept by the party himſelf, not the notary; and they cauſe a copy to be made, ſigned by the notary alone, which is ſhewn upon proper occaſions, and never exhibit the other.*

According to this account, the two books were the ſame, the one ſealed up with ſolemnity, and not to be uſed on common occaſions; that which was open the ſame writing, to be peruſed at pleaſure, and made uſe of upon all occaſions. The ſealed one anſwered a record with us; the other, a writing for common uſe.

Observation XXXIX.

The very mention of the *ſealing up of eyes* appears to us very odd, yet this is an

[1] Lowth Com. on Jer. 32. 11.

Eaſtern management, and uſed on different occaſions.

It is one of the ſolemnities at a *Jewiſh wedding*, at Aleppo, according to Dr. Ruſſell, who mentions it as the moſt remarkable thing in their ceremonies at that time [1]. It is done, it ſeems, by *faſtening the eye-lids together with gum*, and the bridegroom is the perſon, he ſays, if he remembered right, that opens his bride's eyes at the appointed time.

It is uſed alſo as a *puniſhment* in thoſe countries. So Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain, in his account of his voyage to Eaſt-India, tells us of a ſon of the Great Mogul, whom he had ſeen, and with whom Sir Thomas had converſed, that had before that time been caſt into priſon by his father, "where *his eyes were* "*ſealed up*," (by ſomething put before them, which might not be taken off,) "for the "ſpace of three years; after which time, "that ſeal was taken away, that he might "with freedom enjoy the light, though not "his liberty [2]." The ſame writer informs us, that he was afterwards taken out of priſon, but ſtill kept under a guard, in which ſituation he ſaw him, though it was believed to be the intent of his father, to make this prince, who was his firſt-born, his ſucceſſor, though out of ſome jealouſy, he being much beloved by the people, he denied him his liberty.

[1] P. 132. [2] P. 471, 472.

Other

Other princes have been treated after a different manner, when it has been thought fit to keep them under, they have had *drugs* ordered them, to render them *ſtupid and inattentive to things*. Thus Olearius I remember tells us [3], that Schach Abas, the celebrated Perſian monarch who died in 1629, ordered a *certain quantity of opium* ſhould every day be given to his grandſon, who was to be his ſucceſſor, in order to render him *ſtupid*, that he might not have any reaſon to apprehend any dangers from him.

I do not know that there is any reaſon to ſuſpect a reference to this Jewiſh ſealing up of eyes, in their *marriage* ſolemnities, in the Scripture; but I would aſk, whether there may not be ſome ground to believe, the Prophet Iſaiah alludes to theſe two different methods of treating other people, in chap. xliv. 18? "They have not known, nor under-"ſtood: for he hath ſhut their eyes," *daubed their eyes* is the marginal tranſlation, which is known to be the exact import of the original word, "that they cannot ſee; and "*their hearts*, that they cannot underſtand." Is the ſuppoſition void of all probability, and altogether abſurd?

If there is any thing at all in it, there is equally an alluſion to this method of applying ſtupefying drugs, in Iſaiah vi. 10, I ſhould ſuppoſe, where the Prophet ſays,

[3] P. 915.

" Make the *heart of this people fat*, and make " their ears heavy, and ſhut their eyes: leſt " they ſee with their eyes, and hear with " their ears, and underſtand with their " heart, and convert and be healed." I do not imagine there is an alluſion to *three* different operations here: becauſe it is not only difficult to conceive, what other operation the making the ears heavy ſhould allude to; but becauſe one ſingle thing—the ſtupefying the ſenſes, would be abundantly ſufficient to anſwer this whole deſcription; for in ſuch a ſituation, with ears open, they would not be able to hear to any purpoſe; and with eyes unſealed, they would not be able to ſee with any advantage to themſelves. Two things poſſibly might be intended, and ſhutting the eyes mean ſealing them; but we cannot ſuppoſe three; perhaps one only is meant—the ſtupefying them.

How beautiful in this view do theſe words appear, which have been painful and difficult to many! The *quality* of the perſons treated after this manner; the *tenderneſs* expreſſed in theſe ſorts of puniſhment; the *temporary nature* of them; and the after-deſign of making them partakers of the *higheſt honours*; which appear in the relations of Olearius and of Sir Thomas's chaplain, all ſerve to throw a ſoftneſs over this diſpenſation of Providence, towards thoſe that deſerved great ſeverity, which will appear, I dare ſay, *perfectly new* to many of my readers.

The

The Jews, to whom the words of the vith chapter relate, will not be diſpleaſed with ſuch an illuſtration; but it ought to be obſerved alſo, that they were the *Gentiles*, who were abandoned of God to ſtupid idolatries, that the xlivth chapter 18th verſe refers to; the dereliction of both by God, at different periods, being dreadfully deſerved by both; and being appointed with deſigns of mercy as to both: which general thought is certainly true, being the doctrine of St. Paul in the xith to the Romans, whatever may be thought of this illuſtration of theſe paſſages, deduced from modern Oriental managements.

Observation XL.

As *treaſures* are frequently hidden underground in the Eaſt, by thoſe that are apprehenſive of revolutions; ſo the finding them is one great object, in their apprehenſions, of *ſorcery*.

We are told by travellers into the Eaſt, that they have met with great difficulties very often, from a notion univerſally diſſeminated among them, that all Europeans are *magicians*, and that their viſits to thoſe Eaſtern countries are not to ſatisfy curioſity, but to find out, and get poſſeſſion of, thoſe vaſt treaſures they believe to be buried there in great quantities.

Theſe

Theſe repreſentations are very common; but Sir J. Chardin's MS, in a note on a paſſage of the Apocrypha [1], gives us a more particular and amuſing account of affairs of this kind. *It is common in the Indies, for thoſe ſorcerers that accompany conquerors, every where to point out the place where treaſures are hid. Thus at Surat, when Siragi came thither, there were people who, with a ſtick ſtriking on the ground, or againſt walls, found out thoſe that had been hollowed or dug up, and ordered ſuch places to be opened. He then intimates, that ſomething of this nature had happened to him in Mingrelia.*

Among the various contradictions that agitate the human breaſt, this appears to be a remarkable one: they firmly believe the power of magicians to diſcover hidden treaſures, and yet they continue to hide them.

Dr. Perry has given us an account of ſome mighty treaſures, hidden in the ground by ſome of the principal people of the Turkiſh empire, which upon a revolution were diſcovered by domeſtics privy to the ſecret [2]. D'Herbelot has given us accounts of treaſures concealed in the ſame manner, ſome of of them of great princes, diſcovered by accidents extremely remarkable [3]; but this account of Chardin's, of conquerors pretending to find out hidden treaſures by means of ſorcerers, is very extraordinary.

[1] 1 Macc. 1. 23. [2] P. 77. [3] Voy. l'Art Amadeddulat, p. 107; & l'Art Iſmail Samani, p. 502, 503.

As

As however people of this caſt have made great pretences to mighty things in all ages, and were not unfrequently confided in by princes, there is reaſon to believe they pretended ſometimes, by their art, to diſcover treaſures anciently to princes, of which they had gained intelligence by other methods; and as God oppoſed his Prophets, at various times [4], to pretended ſorcerers, it is not unlikely that the Prophet Iſaiah points at ſome ſuch *prophetic* diſcoveries in thoſe remarkable words, Iſ. xlv. 3, "And I will give "thee the *treaſures of darkneſs*, and *hidden* "*riches of ſecret places*, that thou mayeſt "know, that I the Lord, which call thee "by thy name, am the God of Iſrael:" *I* will give them, by enabling ſome Prophet of mine to tell thee where they are concealed.

Such a ſuppoſition throws a great energy into thoſe words.

Great alſo was the *extent* of the prohibition to the Jewiſh people, not to conſult ſorcerers: they were neither to do it as Saul did, to know *the event of a war*; nor after they had conquered, to find out *the treaſures of the vanquiſhed.*

Observation XLI.

The Eaſtern people to this day, it ſeems, ſupport the expenſes of government, in com-

[4] Exod. 7. 11, ch. 8. 19, and Iſ. 44. 25.

mon,

mon, by paying ſuch a proportion of the *produce of their lands* to their princes. Theſe are their taxes. No wonder it was ſo in remoter ages.

The MS.C. gives us this account: *The revenues of princes in the Eaſt are paid in the fruits and productions of the Earth. There are no other taxes upon the peaſants*[1].

The twelve officers of Solomon then, mentioned 1 Kings iv. 7—19, are to be conſidered as his general-receivers. They furniſhed food for all that belonged to the king; and the having proviſions for themſelves and attendants, ſeems to have been, in thoſe times of ſimplicity, all the *ordinary* gratification his miniſters of ſtate, as well as his meaner ſervants, received. Silver, gold, horſes, armour, precious veſtments, and other things of value, came to him from other quarters: partly a kind of tribute from the ſurrounding princes, 1 Kings x. 15, 25; partly from the merchants, whom he ſuffered to paſs through his country to and from Ægypt, or elſewhere, ver. 15; partly from his own commerce by the Red-Sea, ver. 22.

The horſes and armour he ſeems to have diſtributed among the moſt populous towns, who were to find horſemen and people to drive chariots to ſuch a number when called for; and out of the ſilver, and other precious things that came to him, he made pre-

[1] This is mentioned in a note on 1 Eſdras 4. 6, and another on 1 Mac. 10. 29.

ſents

ſents upon extraordinary occaſions to thoſe that diſtinguiſhed themſelves in his ſervice, 1 Kings x. 26, 27.

And according to this plan of conducting the expenſes of civil government, it ſhould ſeem the hiſtory of Solomon is to be explained. Commentators, it may be, have not always had this preſent to their minds, when illuſtrating this part of Scripture.

Sir J. Chardin even ſuppoſes the telling the flocks, Jer. xxxiii. 13, was for the purpoſe of paying tribute, *it being the cuſtom in the Eaſt* to count the flocks, in order to take the third of the increaſe and young ones for the King [2].

Observation XLII.

The money that is collected together in the treaſuries of Eaſtern Princes is, it ſeems, told up in certain equal ſums, *put into bags*, and ſealed; it appears to have been ſo anciently.

The MS.C, in a note on Tobit ix. 5, tells us, *it is the cuſtom of Perſia always to ſeal up bags of money, and the money of the King's treaſure is not told, but is received by bags ſealed up.*

[2] It was not ſo large a proportion in the time of Samuel, 1 Sam. 8. 17, but muſt have been thought an heavy burden, when this eagerneſs, after their nation's having *regal glory among* them like others, was a little abated.

Theſe are what are called, in ſome other parts of the Levant, *purſes*, I preſume; where they reckon great expences by ſo many purſes. Each of theſe, Maillet informs us in a note[1], contains money to the value of fifteen hundred livres, or five hundred crowns[2].

The money collected in the Temple in the time of King Joaſh, for it's reparation, ſeems, in like manner, to have been told up in bags of equal value to each other, and we may believe delivered to thoſe that paid the workmen ſealed, 2 Kings xii. 10. One can hardly imagine the putting it in bags would otherwiſe have been mentioned. What the value of a *Jewiſh purſe* was, no virtuoſo, I doubt, will be able preſently to inform us[3].

Job ſeems to allude to this cuſtom, ch. xiv. 17: and if ſo, it ſhould ſeem he conſidered his offences as reckoned by God to be *very numerous*; as well as not ſuffered by him to be loſt in inattention; for they are only *conſiderable* ſums that are thus kept. If commentators have underſtood this image to point out the firſt of theſe two things, I have overlooked thoſe paſſages: they ſeem to me to have confined themſelves to the laſt,

[1] Lett. 10. p. 79. [2] Conſequently a purſe is equal to about ſixty-five pounds of our money. [3] Each bag, mentioned 2 Kings 5. 23, ſeems to have been of the value of a *talent*; but this might be ſomething extraordinary: probably they were greatly ſuperior to modern Eaſtern purſes in value.

which

which is undoubtedly contained in the metaphor, but appears not to be the whole of it.

Observation XLIII.

When we read over ſome of the compliments paid to Eaſtern Princes, particularly thoſe of the wiſe woman of Tekoah to King David, "As an angel of God, ſo is my "Lord the King, to diſcern good and bad;" and again, "My Lord is wiſe, according to "the wiſdom of an angel of God, to know "all things that are in the earth," 2 Sam. xiv. 17. 20; we are ready to call to mind the hyperbolical genius of thoſe countries: but perhaps there was more of real perſuaſion here than we are ready to apprehend.

Sir J. Chardin, in the ſixth volume of his MS, in a note on Gen. xliv. 18, gives us a remarkable ſtory of what once happened to him in Perſia. *I happened one day*, ſays he, *when I was in the King's wardrobe, whither I had been ſent for by the grand maſter, to fix the price of a pretty rich trinket, which his majeſty had a mind to have at a leſs price than I could afford. I happened I ſay to anſwer him, upon his telling me that the King had valued it at ſo much only, that he knew very well it was worth more, many of the principal courtiers being preſent; the grand maſter made me a ſevere reply, and told me, I was not a little bold to find fault with the King's valuation, and that if a Perſian had dared to have done this, it*

would have been as much as his life was worth, &c. I answered him, "My lord, shall this be "reckoned a crime, the saying that a great "King, perpetually covered with the most beau-"tiful precious stones in the world, has put but "little value on a trinket, which, compared with "them, is, in truth, a trifle." The grand master replied, with the same air, "Know that the "Kings of Persia have a general and full "knowledge of matters, as sure as it is exten-"sive; and that equally in the greatest and the "smallest things, there is nothing more just and "sure than what they pronounce." I had a mind to mention this incident, as it so well shows the prepossession of the Asiatics in favour of their Kings, or rather of their own slavery. The knowledge of this prince, according to this great officer of his, *was like that of an angel of God.*

How far he believed this cannot be known. Prejudice is a powerful thing; and as the Asiatics are bred up in the profoundest reverence for their princes, so the Persians imagine, I think, there is something sacred in this race of their Kings. If the ancient Ægyptians supposed their princes possessed the like sagacity, which is not improbable, the compliment of Judah to Joseph was a very high one, "Thou art even as Pharaoh[1]," *knowing* and equitable as he.

Some of the Kings of Judah really possessed *exquisite sagacity*: David and Solomon

[1] Gen. 44. 18.

in

in particular [2]. The ſpirit of extraordinary illumination has ſometimes reſted upon other princes, when God would bleſs the nations they governed. In ſuch caſes, without doubt, there is great truth in that ſaying, "A ſen-"tence of *divination* is in the lips of the "King: his mouth tranſgreſſeth not in "judgment." Prov. xvi. 10. But this wiſdom is not always appendant to majeſty, though ſome Weſtern flatterers, as well as ſome of the Eaſt, have deſcribed them to be *like angels of God in point of Knowledge*; they have alſo contended for their poſſeſſing the power of healing a virulent diſorder by their royal touch: in both aſſertions they have been equally in the right.

Observation XLIV.

The manner of making Eaſtern decrees differs from ours: they are *firſt written*, and then the magiſtrate *authenticates* them or *annuls* them.

This, I remember, is the Arab manner, according to d'Arvieux. When an Arab wanted a favour of the Emir, the way was to apply to the ſecretary, who drew up a decree according to the requeſt of the party: if the Emir granted the favour, he printed his ſeal upon it; if not, he returned it torn to the petitioner [1].

[2] 1 Sam. 16. 13, 1 Kings 3. 12, 28. [1] Voy. dans la Pal. p. 61, 154, and 155.

Sir J. Chardin confirms this account, and applies it, with great propriety, to the illuſtration of a paſſage which I never thought of when I read over d'Arvieux. After citing Iſ. x. 1, "Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, *and to the writers that write grievouſneſs*," (for ſo our tranſlators have rendered the latter part of the verſe in the margin, much more agreeably than in the body of the verſion,) Sir John goes on, *the manner of making the royal acts and ordinances hath a relation to this: they are always drawn up according to the requeſt; the firſt miniſter, or he whoſe office it is, writes on the ſide of it, "according to the King's will," and from thence it is ſent to the ſecretary of ſtate, who draws up the order in form.*

They that conſult Vitringa upon the paſſage, will find that commentators have been perplexed about the latter part of this woe: every one ſees the propriety of denouncing evil on thoſe that decree unrighteous judgments; but it is not very clear why they are threatened that write them—it certainly would be wrong to puniſh the clerks of our courts, that have no other concern in unjuſt decrees, than in barely writing them down, according to the duty of their place—are mere amanuenſes.

But according to the Eaſtern mode, we find he that writes or draws up the order at firſt is deeply concerned in the injuſtice, ſince he expreſſes matters as he pleaſes, and is the ſource

ſource of the miſchief; the ſuperior only paſſes or rejects it. He indeed is guilty if he paſſes an unjuſt order, becauſe he ought to have rejected it; but a great deal of the guilt unqueſtionably comes upon him that firſt draws the order, and who makes it more or leſs oppreſſive to others, juſt as he pleaſes, or rather, according to the preſent that is made him by the party that ſolicits the order.

For it appears from d'Arvieux[2], that the ſecretary of the Emir drew up no order without a preſent, which were wont to be proportionate to the favour aſked; and that he was very oppreſſive in his demands.

In this view of things the words of the Prophet are very clear, and eaſy to be underſtood; and Sir J. Chardin, by his acquaintance with the Eaſt, proves a much better interpreter than the moſt learned Weſtern commentators, even celebrated rabbies themſelves: for, according to Vitringa, rabbi David Kimchi ſuppoſes the judges themſelves were the writers the Prophet meant, and ſo called, becauſe they *cauſed* others to write unjuſt determinations; though Vitringa admits, that ſuch an interpretation doth not well agree with the conjugation of the Hebrew word.

[2] P. 63.

Observation XLV.

The expedition of Chederlaomer and his aſſociates, mentioned Gen. xiv, to an European reader ſeems very ſtrange, almoſt incredible; but expeditions of a like kind ſtill continue among the *Arabs*.

What appears ſtrange in the Moſaic account is, the ſmallneſs of the number of their troops, with which the petty Kings of five ſingle cities dared to contend, ver. 9, againſt theſe who had ſo many conqueſts, ver. 5, 6, 7; and the diſtance from whence theſe came, one of them at leaſt, from the land of *Shinar*, ver. 1.

Mekkrami, an Arab Shech, Niebuhr tells us, *by his politics and valour became terrible to his neighbours, and even to diſtant ſtates:* he then mentions ſeveral of his expeditions; and after adds, *having thus cauſed his army to paſs, in a little time, through the whole breadth of Arabia, from the* Arabian *gulph to the* Perſian, *even through ſtrange countries, which would be impoſſible to be done in our method of making war in Europe. But the Arabian armies take neither cannon with them, nor many tents; the ſmall quantity of proviſions and ammunition which they have with them is carried on camels, and their ſoldiers, who are nearly naked, or at leaſt very thinly clad, are not oppreſſed with arms.* P. 237.

It

It appears from the account that Niebuhr gives of his expeditions, that he paſſed over a *conſiderable deſert*; that he attacked very *different clans* of Arabs; that he fell upon very *diſtant* parts of the country from that which he governed; and that his army was *but ſmall:* circumſtances very much reſembling thoſe of the ancient Princes mentioned by Moſes, who ſeem to have been Arabs, one of them reigning over a portion of the land of *Shinar*, whoſe extent in theſe times we may not be able preciſely to determine, the other three neighbours.

Niebuhr alſo mentions a ſtratagem of an Arab Prince, very much reſembling that of Gideon, whoſe three hundred men blew with trumpets in different avenues to the Midianitiſh camp: which modern ſtratagem, like the ancient one, was ſucceſsfull, and ended in the ruin of the invaders, p. 263. But I ſhall take no farther notice of this; for though it is incidentally and undeſignedly mentioned by Niebuhr, the learned *Michaelis* has taken notice of the conformity between the two ſtories, in that extract which he publiſhed of Niebuhr's Deſcription of Arabia, p. 36; only adding this remark, that probably the Midianitiſh army was encamped in a place pretty much ſurrounded by *high hills*, like the modern Arab camp, and that the three companies of Gideon's people ſhewed themſelves in three different entrances into the plain in which the Midianites laid. Theſe

muſt have appeared extremely numerous, as there were ſo many trumpets, if few trumpets were anciently uſed, though the number of troops was conſiderable: Moſes, we know, ordered only *two* trumpets to be made for directing the journeying of all the Iſraelitiſh camps in the wilderneſs, Num. x. 2; and *one* trumpet only, it ſeems, was uſed in each detachment of the modern victorious Arab army, according to Niebuhr.]

CHAP. IX.

Concerning Ægypt.

OBSERVATION I.

THERE are a few *wells* in Ægypt, but their waters are not drank, being unpleaſant and unwholeſome; the water of the *Nile* is what they univerſally make uſe of in this country, which is looked upon to be extraordinarily wholeſome, and, at the ſame time, *extremely delicious*.

The author of the notes on le Bruyn mentions this [1] laſt circumſtance, and takes notice of the Ægyptians being wont to excite thirſt artificially, that they might drink the more of it; nor is there any reaſon to doubt of the fact, ſince Maillet has affirmed the ſame thing; the only point in which they

[1] Tom. 2. p. 103.

differ

differ being, that Maillet ſays, they do this by ſalt, the other by ſpices. The account of Maillet, as it is given us by the publiſher of his Remarks, is indeed ſo very curious, that I ſhall ſet it down here at length.

"The water of Ægypt," ſays the Abbot Maſcrier[2], "is ſo delicious, that one would "not wiſh the heat ſhould be leſs, nor to be "delivered from the ſenſation of thirſt. The "Turks find it ſo exquiſitely charming, that "they excite themſelves to drink of it *by* "*eating ſalt*. It is a common ſaying among "them, that if Mohammed had drank of it, "he would have begged of God not to have "died, that he might always have done it. "They add, that whoever has once drank "of it, he ought to drink of it a ſecond "time. This is what the people of the "country told me, when they ſaw me re-"turn, after ten years abſence. When the "Ægyptians undertake the pilgrimage of "Mecca, or go out of their country on any "other account, they ſpeak of nothing but "the pleaſure they ſhall find at their return "in drinking the Nile-water. There is no-"thing to be compared to this ſatisfaction; "it ſurpaſſes in their eſteem that of ſeeing "their relations again, and their families. "Agreeably to this, all thoſe that have taſted "of this water allow that they never met "with the like in any other place. In truth,

[2] Let. 1. p. 15, 16.

" when one drinks of it the firſt time, it " ſeems to be ſome water *prepared by art*. " It has ſomething in it inexpreſſibly agree- " able and pleaſing to the taſte; and we " ought to give it perhaps the ſame rank " among waters, which Champagne has " among wines. I muſt confeſs however it " has, to my taſte, too much ſweetneſs. But " its moſt valuable quality is, that it is in- " finitely ſalutary. Drink it in what quan- " tities you will, it never in the leaſt in- " commodes you. This is ſo true, that it " is no uncommon thing to ſee ſome per- " ſons drink *three buckets of it in a day*, with- " out finding the leaſt inconvenience. " When I give ſuch encomiums to the wa- " ter of Ægypt, it is right to obſerve, that " I ſpeak only of that of the Nile, which " indeed is the *only water there which is drink-* " *able*. Well-water is deteſtable and un- " wholſome; fountains are ſo rare, that " they are a kind of prodigy in that coun- " try; and as for rain-water, it would be " in vain to attempt preſerving that, ſince " ſcarce any falls in Ægypt."

The embelliſhments of a Frenchman may be here, but the fact however in general is indubitable.

A perſon that never before heard of this *delicacy* of the water of the Nile, and of the *large quantities* that on that account are drank of it, will, I am very ſure, find an energy in thoſe words of Moſes to Pharaoh, (Exod.

vii.

vii. 18,) "The Ægyptians ſhall *loath* to drink "of the *water of the river*," which he never obſerved before. They will *loath* to drink of *that water* which they uſed to prefer to all the waters of the univerſe, *loath* to drink of that which they had been wont *eagerly to long for*; and will rather chooſe to drink of *well-water*, which is in their country ſo *deteſtable*. And as none of our commentators, that I know of, have obſerved this energy, my reader, I hope, will not be diſpleaſed that I have remarked it here.

Observation II.

From this circumſtance it is natural to paſs on to another, mentioned in the hiſtory of this plague, in which probably there is more meaning than is commonly underſtood. "And the Lord ſpake unto Moſes, ſay unto "Aaron, Take thy rod, and ſtretch out "thine hand upon the waters of Ægypt, "upon their ſtreams, upon their rivers, and "upon their ponds, and upon all their pools "of water, that they may become blood; "and that there may be blood throughout "all the land of Ægypt, both in *veſſels of* "*wood and in veſſels of ſtone*," Exod. vii. 19. To what purpoſe this *minuteneſs*, this corrupting the water that had been taken up into veſſels before the ſtretching out of the fatal rod? And if veſſels are mentioned at all, why

why are thoſe of wood and ſtone diſtinguiſhed from each other?

But perhaps theſe words do not ſignify, that the water that *had been taken up* into their veſſels, was changed into blood. The water of the Nile is known to be very thick and muddy, and they purify it either by a paſte made of almonds, or by filtrating it through certain pots of *white earth*, which, it ſeems, is the preferable way, and therefore the poſſeſſion of one of theſe pots is thought a great happineſs[1]. Now may not the meaning of this paſſage be, that the water of the Nile ſhould not only look red and nauſeous, like blood in the river, but in their veſſels too, when taken up in ſmall quantities; and that no method whatever of purifying it ſhould take place, but whether drank out of *veſſels of wood*, or out of *veſſels of ſtone*, by means of which they were wont to purge the Nile-water, it ſhould be the ſame, and ſhould appear like blood?

Some method muſt have been uſed in very early days to clarify the water of the Nile: the mere letting it ſtand to ſettle hardly ſeems ſufficient, eſpecially if we conſider the early elegance that obtained in Egypt. So ſimple an invention then as filtrating-veſſels may eaſily be ſuppoſed to be as ancient as the time of Moſes; and to them therefore it

[1] Le Bruyn, tome 2. p. 103. Thevenot, part 1. p. 245 and 260.

ſeems

ſeems natural to ſuppoſe the threatning refers.

Observation III.

It is *common* indeed for the Nile-water to turn *red*, and to become *diſagreeable*, in one part of the year; but this was of a different nature.

Dr. Pococke[1] mentions this fermentation of the Nile, and ſays, its water turns *red*, and ſometimes *green*, as ſoon as the river begins to riſe, which, according to him, it generally does about the eighteenth or nineteenth of June; and that this diſcolouring of the water continues twenty, thirty, or forty days; during which time it is very unwholſome and purging; ſo that in Cairo they drink at that time of water preſerved in ciſterns, under the houſes and moſques. Maillet mentions the ſame fact, but with this difference, that he ſuppoſes the river begins to riſe, in common, the latter end of April and beginning of May; and that he ſuppoſes there is a difference in different years as to this corruption, ſaying, that there are *ſome years* in which, from the very firſt increaſe of the Nile, the waters of this river corrupt. He adds, that then they appear greeniſh, ſometimes reddiſh, and, if kept a little while in a veſſel, that it breeds worms[2].

[1] Deſcr. of the Eaſt, vol. 1. p. 199. [2] Lett. 2. p. 57.

Per-

Perhaps ſome may be diſpoſed from hence to imagine, that the Nile's being turned into blood was only a natural occurrence, and ſuch a corruption of the water as theſe authors ſpeak of: but beſides this corruption's taking place *before* the uſual time, *immediately upon the ſmiting* the river by Moſes and Aaron, and its being followed by *other* wonders; the *univerſality* of the corruption, and the *effects* it produced, ſhew the finger of God was there.

The *univerſality* of the corruption in the firſt place. To ſet forth which, a variety of words is made uſe of in Exod. vii. 19, nor is that variety made uſe of without a meaning: let us conſider it with a little diſtinctneſs. The Nile was the *only* river in Ægypt, but it was divided into *branches*, and entered by different mouths into the ſea; there were numberleſs *canals* made by art, for the better watering their lands; ſeveral *vaſt lakes* are formed by the inundations of the Nile, inhabited by fiſh and wild-fowl; and many *reſervoirs* are contrived for the retaining the water, either by ſtopping up the mouths of the ſmaller canals, which are derived from the greater, and preventing the return of the water, or by digging pits or ciſterns for the preſerving water, where there are no canals, and this for the watering their gardens and plantations, or for the having ſweet water when the Nile corrupts; all which appear in the accounts that are given us of this country

try by travellers[3], and are, I think, distinctly pointed out in Exod. vii. 19. The words however in our version are not so well chosen as could be wished, nor so happily selected as those of the translation of Pagninus and Arias Montanus—"Super flumina "—rivos—paludes—omnem congregatio-"nem aquarum," that is, "Upon their "rivers, or branches of their river—their "canals—their lakes, or large standing wa-"ters—and all reservoirs of water of a "smaller kind." Now if it had been a natural event, the lakes and the reservoirs that had then no communication with the river, on the account of the lowness of the water at that time of the year, could not have been infected; which yet they were, according to the Mosaic history, and they were forced to dig wells, instead of having recourse to their wonted reservoirs.

The effects this corruption produced prove the same thing, in the second place. Had it been a sort of corruption that happened not unfrequently, would the Ægyptians have have been surprized at it? or would their magicians have attempted to imitate it? Would they not rather have shewn that it was a natural event, and what often fell out? Is the corruption such as kills the fish in the Nile? That in the time of Moses

[3] See Dr. Pococke in the last-cited place, and Maillet, Lett. 2. p. 60, 61, Lett. 3. p. 97, 98, and Lett. 9. p. 5.

did;

did; but nothing of a like ſort appears in modern travels.

What a number of circumſtances concur to determine it a miracle!

Observation IV.

The repreſentation of the waters of Ægypt, which the tranſlation of Exod. vii. 19. by Pagninus gives us, is certainly juſt, for it is conformable to all the accounts of travellers. Biſhop Patrick however has unhappily departed from it in his Commentary.

He gives us the diſtinction with great preciſion and exactneſs, as to three of the words: but as to the fourth, he moſt unaccountably ſuppoſes it means places digged for the holding rain-water when it fell, as it ſometimes did; and wells perhaps dug near the river. It is certain that rain doth ſometimes fall in Ægypt: Maillet, who lived ſixteen years in that country, admits it, as well as other authors; but he expreſsly affirms that it fell in *too ſmall quantities* to be kept for *drinking* [1]. Nor have we any reaſon to imagine wells are meant, as the Biſhop ſuppoſes; for though they have a few wells now, (and but a very few, for their water is deteſtable and unwholſome, as Maillet affirms

[1] Je parle uniquement de l'eau du Nil, puiſque c'éſt *la ſeule* en effet qui ſoit potable. L'eau du puits y eſt deteſtable & très malſaine. & à l'égard de l'eau de *pluie*, il ſeroit *impoſſible* d'y en conſerver, *puiſqu'il n'y pleut preſque jamais.* Lett. I. p. 16.

in

in the ſame paragraph,) and conſequently might have ſome few anciently, yet it ſhould ſeem that only their common drinking-water was deſigned to be affected after this manner, ſince, had their wells been equally corrupted, they would hardly have thought of digging others. To which ought to be added, that the original word, one would imagine, ſignifies places in which ruſhes are wont to grow, as they do in ſhallow lakes, (but not about wells or ciſterns,) ſince a kindred word means a ruſh.

Nor is this the only paſſage in which there is a particular repreſentation of the waters of Ægypt. There is another to which the diſtinction I have mentioned may be applied, and by ſuch an application we may be delivered from thoſe embarraſſments which ſeem to have perplexed interpreters. "The river "ſhall be waſted and dried up. And they "ſhall turn the rivers far away, and the "brooks of defence ſhall be emptied and dried "up, the reeds and the flags ſhall wither. "The paper-reeds by the brooks, by the "mouth of the brooks, and every thing "ſown by the brooks, ſhall wither, &c." Iſ. xix. 5, 6, 7. This differs a little from the preceding repreſentation, but in correſpondence with it is thus, I preſume, to be explained. *The river, the* Nile *that is, ſhall be waſted and dried up. The rivers, the* branches *of it by which its waters paſs into the ſea, the ſtreams, as the word is tranſlated in*

that paſſage of Exodus, ſhall be of no uſe. The brooks of defence, which word in Exodus is tranſlated rivers, but ſeems to ſignify canals, the canals *which have been drawn by Ægyptian princes from the river, and thoſe* lakes *in which reeds and flags grow, both which they have formed for the* defence *of places, ſhall be emptied and dried up. The* cultivated places *by theſe canals, yea by the* mouth *of them,* and all thoſe things that are ſown, *and depend upon them, ſhall wither.*

Dr. Shaw has taken ſome notice [2] of that paſſage in Exodus which I have been illuſtrating, but not with all the diſtinctneſs that was wanted; and as to this of Iſaiah, he is, I think, quite ſilent, though it may be equally well illuſtrated.

The *additional* circumſtances are, the mention of the *Nile* diſtinctly from its branches, the *digging theſe canals and lakes* for defence, and the advantage of being near the *mouth* of one of theſe artificial rivers. The ancients tell us, that there were large lakes to the North and Weſt of Memphis, which made the *ſtrength* of the place ſurprizing [3]; and Dr. Pococke ſaw ſome near Metrahenny, which he ſuppoſes were theſe very lakes. Nothing then could be more natural than thoſe words of Ezekiel [4], "I am againſt thee, "Pharaoh king of Ægypt, the great dra- "gon that lieth in the *midſt of his rivers,*

[2] P. 402. note. [3] See the notes on Norden.
[4] Ch. 29. 3.

"which hath ſaid, My river is my own, "and I have made it for myſelf," if the Prophet was referring to him as reſiding in Memphis. Whether he was, or not, is not my buſineſs here to enquire: other cities might be guarded in the ſame manner [5].

Ægypt is a very level country, but not abſolutely ſo, which indeed is unimaginable: for though, according to Dr. Shaw, the Ægyptians make great rejoicings when the Nile riſes *ſixteen* cubits, yet *nineteen or twenty* are required to prepare the *whole* land for cultivation [6]; and doubtleſs ſome of it would, or might be at leaſt, overflowed with leſs than ſixteen cubits, though not enough to anſwer the demands of the country. It appears alſo, from another fact mentioned by the Doctor, that the land originally laid with a conſiderable deſcent to the river: for he ſays, the ſoil near the banks is ſometimes more than thirty feet, whilſt at the utmoſt extremity of the inundation it is not a quarter part of ſo many inches [7]; conſequently if this *adventitious ſoil*, brought by the Nile, were removed, the land would lay with a deſcent to the river that would be conſiderable. In ſuch a ſituation of things, the things that were ſown near the mouths of the canals, muſt have been in the loweſt places, and were ſufficiently watered, when the higher grounds produced nothing, for

[5] Thanis was for one in De Vitriaco's time. Vide Geſta Dei &c, p. 1143. [6] P. 384. [7] P. 386.

want of moiſture: to ſay then, the things that were ſown or cultivated near the mouths of the canals ſhould wither, is deſcribing the *utmoſt failure of water*, by a periphraſis ſufficiently eaſy.

Observation V.

Some of theſe canals, if we may believe Maillet [1], were an hundred feet broad, and twenty deep; and made ſome conſiderable diſtricts, that would otherwiſe have been abſolutely barren, like the garden of the Lord [2].

Other countries had in like manner watering canals, though perhaps none of ſuch enomous dimenſions [3]. Nor was Judæa a ſtranger to them: the waters of the fountain of Eliſha dividing themſelves, as Maundrell obſerved [4], into ſeveral ſmall ſtreams, and ſo rendering all the field between it and Jericho exceeding fruitful; which ſmall ſtreams are without doubt the effect of art, it not being natural for a ſpring to make itſelf ſuch a number of channels.

To theſe canals, and the fertility produced by them in theſe countries, Solomon, I imagine, refers in Prov. xxi. 1, where he ſays, "The king's heart is in the *hand of the* "*Lord*, as the rivers of water," (or as *wa-*

[1] Lett. 2. p. 46. [2] William Archbiſhop of Tyre gives a like account. Geſta Dei, p. 969. [3] Damaſcus had, ſee Maundrell, p. 121—123. [4] P. 80.

tering-

tering-canals,) " he turneth it whitherſoever " he will." Commentators ſuppoſe that this marks out the power of the great Lord of lords over the hearts of princes. It doth ſo undoubtedly: but though they have given us the thought in general, I do not remember to have met with any that have given us the *energy* of it, which ſeemeth to be this, *Which way ſoever the heart of a king turneth, it conveys riches, juſt as a watering-canal doth plenty; and let it be remembered, that the Lord turns it whitherſoever he will, and makes whom he pleaſes the favourites of princes.*

Northern readers have often, I dare ſay, wondered in themſelves that the divine energy upon the minds of men, which is apparently intended by the words, ſhould be repreſented by a man's turning a ſtream of water whither he pleaſes; which appears to them a work of difficulty, ſuch difficulty that it is not often attempted in their countries. They therefore are ready to be ſurprized, that ſome alluſion containing the idea of greater eaſe was not made uſe of; but to an Oriental imagination the metaphor will appear ſtrong, but in all reſpects juſt, as conveying the thought of the *eaſe* with which the power of God operates on the hearts of princes, and of the *enriching* effects of royal favour, (which is elſewhere compared to a cloud of the latter rain,) adding farther proſperity to thoſe that are in affluent circumſtances, and ſetting beggars among

princes, juſt like thoſe canals which are ſo common in theſe countries, which add very much to the fertility of a rich ſoil, and ſometimes turn a deſert into a paradiſe. So the province of Faoumé or Fioum, the richeſt province in all Ægypt, owes all its fertility, according to Maillet [5], to a canal made by art in very ancient times, and would without it have been abſolutely barren, as the want of keeping this canal with *ſufficient* care has very much *injured* it.

Observation VI.

In this province grew, Maillet ſays, the beſt *vines* of Ægypt [1]: not that Ægypt is a *wine-country*, or ever was; ſo far from it, that they were forced to uſe a ſort of beer for common drink, and do ſo to this day [2], made of barley and ſome intoxicating drug. This country not producing, like other countries in the Eaſt, wine in ſuch quantities as to be tolerably proportionate to the wants of the inhabitants; it had, however, many vines.

We may therefore perhaps wonder, that their vines ſhould have been conſidered by the Pſalmiſt as ſo *important* as to be ſingled out, along with their ſycamores, from their other trees, in his account of the deſtruction made among them by the hail, Pſ. lxxviii. 47,

[5] Lett. 8. p. 293, &c. [1] Voy. la derniere citation.
[2] Shaw, p. 407, Maillet, Lett. 11. p. 111, Pococke, vol. 1. p. 182.

and may fancy there muſt have been other trees of much more conſequence to them, and in particular the date, which Maillet affirms to be the moſt eſteemed at this time in Ægypt, on account of its *profitableneſs* [3].

But it ought to be remembered, that many trees which are now found in Ægypt, might not have been introduced in thoſe times. Dr. Pococke ſuppoſes, that very few of the preſent Ægyptian trees are natives [4], the ſycamore and the vine might then at that time be very well thought the moſt valuable they had.

Their *ſycamores* were undoubtedly very important to them, and their deſtruction an heavy loſs. The ancient Ægyptian coffins were made of this kind of wood, as are the modern barques [5]; and conſequently we may believe their ancient ones, of which they have ſuch numbers on the Nile, and muſt always have ſtood in great need of multitudes, on account of the nature of their country. But beſides theſe uſes, they produce a ſort of fig, upon which, Norden tells us [6] the people *for the greater part* live; thinking themſelves well regaled when they have a piece of bread, a couple of ſycamore-figs, and a pitcher filled with water from the Nile [7].

[The fondneſs for the ſycamore-fruit is not peculiar to Ægyptians: Haſſelquiſt, the Swediſh

[3] Lett. 9. p. 16. [4] Vol. 1. p. 205. [5] Norden, part 2. p. 177. [6] Part 1. p. 79, 80. [7] Haſſelquiſt tells

Swediſh traveller, was greatly pleaſed with it; for having ſaid, that "the fruit was "ſoft, watery, ſomewhat ſweet, with ſomething of an aromatic taſte, he adds, "After "I once had taſted it, *I could ſcarce refrain* "*from eating*; and if I had thought the freſh "fruit wholeſome, I ſhould certainly have "eaten a great deal of it.[8]" No wonder then that David had an officer to look after theſe trees, and that they and olive-trees ſhould be put jointly under his inſpection, 1 Chron. xxvii. 28. When this paſſage deſcribes them as growing in the low plains, it reminds us of what Haſſelquiſt tells us, of their growing at preſent in the *plains* and fields of *Lower Ægypt*, where he found them very common[9]. He found many olive-trees growing in a like ſituation, in three places, and ſaith, "We had fine *vales*, abounding with

tells us, that the ſycamore buds in the latter end of March, and the fruit ripens in the beginning of June; and that it is wounded or cut by the inhabitants at the time it buds, as without this precaution, they ſay, it will not bear fruit, p. 261. Is it not this operation that Amos refers to, in thoſe words which we tranſlate, "Was a gatherer of ſyca-"more-fruit?" The Septuagint ſeems to refer it to ſomething done to the fruit, to haſten its ripening, it is ſuppoſed: but as the word certainly ſignifies ſycamore-trees elſewhere, every where elſe, I think; as there is a ſort of ſcarification, or ſomething of that kind, practiſed upon the tree itſelf, according to Haſſelquiſt; may not the words at leaſt as well be underſtood to mean this? However, if the words were rendered a ſycamore-tree dreſſer, it would include both ſenſes, and be preferable, ſure! to our preſent tranſlation.] [8] P. 261. [9] P. 120.

"olive-

" olive-trees," ſpeaking of the road between Jaffa and Rama.]

If their vines too were as uſeful then as they are now, the loſs of them was very great. Their *fruit* ſerves for a conſiderable part of the entertainments they give their friends: ſo Norden was treated by the Aga of Eſſuaën with coffee, and ſome bunches of grapes of an excellent taſte [10]. If we may believe Maillet, they make ſtill more of the *leaves* of their vines than they do of their fruit, uſing them, when young, prodigiouſly: for minced meat being one great part of their diet, they wrap it up in little parcels in vine-leaves, and laying thus leaf upon leaf, they ſeaſon it after their mode, and ſo cook it, and make of it a moſt exquiſite ſort of food, and one of the moſt delicious that comes upon their tables [11]. But beſides theſe uſes, they make ſome *wine*, which, though it is now made in very ſmall quantities, as it is alſo in other Mohammedan countries, yet was anciently much more plentiful, and even exported: for though Ægypt never produced wine in ſuch quantities as to be tolerably proportionate to the number of its inhabitans, as in other countries; yet they made ſo much, and that ſo delicious, as that it was carried to Rome, and *ſo much* drank there, as to be very well known in that ſeat of luxury, inſomuch

[10] Part 2. p. 112. [11] Lett. 9. p. 14.

that Maillet, who never forgets any of the excellencies of this country, tells us, it was the third in eſteem of their wines [12]. It was made then without doubt [13], and in *conſiderable quantities*, for the uſe of Pharaoh and of his court, who probably could procure no ſuch wine from abroad; nor were acquainted with ſuch liquors as the great now drink in Ægypt; and conſequently the loſs of their vines muſt have been conſiderable.

As to the date-trees, which are ſaid to be the moſt important now of any to the Ægyptians, and which are mentioned neither in this Pſalm, nor the cvth, may we not ſuppoſe that if they were then in Ægypt which is moſt probable, the ſtorm of hail did not reach them? The trees, it is certain, that produce the beſt dates in Ægypt grow in the deſerts [14], where it ſeems nothing elſe grows, and there they are in great numbers; and as hail-ſtorms are not wont to extend very far, ſo there is no reaſon in the world to ſuppoſe this ſtorm reached to thoſe deſerts. It was ſufficient if it fell with ſeverity before the eyes of Pharaoh, and demoliſhed the country that was cultivated, and particularly that part that was near to him: agreeably to which we may obſerve, that the vineyards of Ægypt were in the country of Fioum [15], which, according to William of

[12] Lett. 8. p. 294. [13] Gen. 40. 9, &c. [14] Maillet, lett. 8. p. 295. [15] La même page.

Tyre,

Tyre, is but one day's journey from Cairo; and conſequently leſs from Memphis [16] the old royal city, Memphis and Fioum lying both South-Weſt from Cairo. As for the ſycamore-trees, Dr. Pococke tells us [17], they are planted near villages, eſpecially about Cairo, and conſequently not far from Memphis.

Upon the whole, it is no wonder that we have no account of any damage done to their date-trees, and that their ſycamores and their vines are diſtinguiſhed from their other trees, in the Moſaic hiſtory of this deſolation.

Observation VII.

[The grapes of Ægypt, it ſhould ſeem, are much ſmaller than thoſe that grow in the Holy-Land.

Dandini, though an Italian, ſeems to have been ſurprized at the extraordinary ſize of the *grapes* of Mount Libanus. *They uſe no props*, he tells us, *to ſupport the trees, but let them creep along the earth; the wine produced from them is delicate, and exceeding pleaſant; it is a very ſurprizing thing to ſee the bigneſs of the grape, which is equal to a prune; and that he eaſily comprehended, at ſeeing them, why the Hebrews had ſo great a deſire to taſte them, and that they puſhed forwards with ſo much paſſion the conqueſt of the Land of Promiſe, after*

[16] Geſta Dei &c, p. 964. [17] Vol. 1. p. 205.

they

they had ſeen the grapes which the ſpies of Joſhua brought back from the neighbouring countries [1].

It is the *diſtinguiſhing* manner in which the grapes are ſpoken of in the thirteenth of Numbers, and *the pains they took* to bring a whole cluſter to the camp, by hanging it on a ſtaff borne by two men, that demonſtrates the particular value the ſpies put on this kind of fruit, produced in the Holy-Land, rather than their *haſtening* to ſubdue the country; which doth not very well agree with the account that is given us of the temper Iſrael was in at the return of the ſpies.

Nor is it any wonder the Iſraelites, born in the land of Ægypt, were ſo extremely ſtruck with the grapes of Canaan, ſince *thoſe of Ægypt*, it ſhould ſeem, though it is ſo fertile a country, are very ſmall. The ſetting a paſſage of Norden in contraſt with Dandini's account, will illuſtrate this circumſtance extremely: "Waiting on a Turkiſh "Aga in Upper Ægypt," Norden ſaith, "the Aga ordered coffee to be ſerved, and "regaled me with ſome bunches of grapes, "which were of an excellent taſte, but *very* "*ſmall* [2]."

D'Herbelot, in giving an account of the tragical death of one of the women of the Khalife Jezid, from a Perſian hiſtorian, takes notice of the *largeneſs* of the grapes of Pa-

[1] Chap. 10. p. 43. [2] Vol. 2. p. 112.

læſtine

læſtine in like manner [3]. As the ſtory is memorable, it ſhall be given in a note below. The Ægyptian Iſraelites muſt have been pleaſed with the grapes of Eſhcol: they that before had only ſeen very ſmall bunches.]

Observation VIII. VII.

Dr. Pococke has made a remark, which I have obſerved in no other traveller [1], and that is, that there is a double ſeed-time and harveſt in Ægypt: rice, Indian wheat, and another ſort that produces a large cane, and has an ear like millet, (which they call the corn of Damaſcus, and in Italian, ſurgo roſſo,) being ſown and reaped at a very different time from wheat, (which, in that country, it ſeems, is all bearded,) barley, and flax. "The firſt," he ſays [2], "are ſown "in March, before the Nile overflows the "lands, and reaped about October; whereas

[3 P. 487. Jezid, ſays the hiſtorian Khondemir, being in Palæſtine, which they call the country of Jordan, and diverting himſelf in a garden with one of his women, whom he loved to madneſs, he was preſented with a collation of the moſt excellent fruits of the country: during this little repaſt he took a grape, which he threw to his miſtreſs; ſhe took it, and put it into her mouth to eat it; but the grape being *very large*, ſuch as *this country produces*, getting down her throat, ſtopped her breath, and ſhe was choaked in an inſtant.] [1] It is to be met with in Thompſon's Travels, vol. 3. p. 308, 309; but it is ſuppoſed there really was no ſuch traveller, and that the book was a mere compilation from others. [2] The text ſays, *July*, but it appears from the errata, *March* was the month he intended.

"the

" the wheat and barley are ſown in Novem-
" ber and December, as ſoon as the Nile is
" gone off, and they are reaped before May [3]."

Dr. Shaw ſeems not to have been aware of this, for he ſuppoſes that rice was ſown at the ſame time with flax, wheat, and barley [4]; yet it ſeems natural, that as wheat and barley are ſown as ſoon as the inundation is over, and reaped before it returns, ſo likewiſe that thoſe ſorts of grain that require much water, ſhould be ſown before it begins, and be reaped juſt as it finiſhes. And though I have met with no direct obſervation of this kind [5]; yet Norden confirms one part of it: for he tells us, that he ſaw a great plain covered with *Turkey-wheat* the twentieth of *November*, which began to be *ripe*; and that he ſaw the Arabs cutting their harveſt in a neighbouring plain the twenty-ninth *of that month* [6].

If then this is fact, it will explain very determinately what is meant by the wheat and rye's being dark, or hidden, at the time of the plague of hail, Exod. ix. 32; for it muſt mean, that they were ſown, but *not*

[3] Vol. 1. p. 204. [4] P. 406, 407. [5] Pococke's account has ſince been confirmed by Haſſelquiſt, who found the rice, about Aſſotta, about three inches high the thirtieth of May N. S. p. 54. He indeed tells us, it had been ſown but eight days before; but this muſt certainly have been a miſtake, perhaps it ſhould have been eight *weeks*. He elſewhere mentions the ſame month that Pococke doth, as the time for reaping it, that of October.]
[6] Part 2. p. 17, and p. 36.

come

come up, contrary to the opinion of Dr. Shaw, who ſuppoſes that the expreſſion imports, that they were of a *dark green*, and conſequently yielded without hurt, while the barley and the flax, being forwarder, were deſtroyed.

This will ſhew alſo what the wheat was that, being hidden in the earth, eſcaped: it was Indian wheat, or ſurgo roſſo, which ſorts of wheat with the rye [7] eſcaped; while the barley, and wheat bearded like barley, and the flax, were ſmitten.

OBSERVATION IX. VIII.

I do not apprehend, that it is at all neceſſary to ſuppoſe, that *all* the ſervants, and *all* the cattle of the Ægyptians, that were abroad at the time the hail fell, which Moſes threatened, and which was attended with thunder and lightning, died; it is ſufficient to ſuppoſe they all felt the hail-ſtones, and that *ſeveral of them* were killed. This was

[7 Or rice, according to Dr. Shaw, p. 407. Haſſelquiſt however makes no doubt, but that the Ægyptians learned the cultivation of rice under the Califs, at which time, he ſays, many uſeful plants were brought over the Red-Sea to Ægypt, which now grow ſpontaneouſly there, and enrich the country, p. 109, 110. This may be left to the curious to examine, it being of no conſequence to my deſign here to examine, whether rice, or the corn of Damaſcus, or ſome other plant of importance to human life, was meant; it being ſufficient to obſerve, that ſome ſorts of farinaceous plants were then but juſt ſown, while others were drawing to maturity.]

enough

enough to juſtify the words of Moſes, that it ſhould be a grievous hail, ſuch as had not fallen *before* in Ægypt *from its foundation*. For though it *hails* ſometimes in Ægypt as well as rains, as Dr. Pococke found it *hailed* at Faiume, when he was there in February [1]; and *thunders* too, as Thevenot ſays it did one night in December, when he was at Cairo [2]; yet *fatal effects* are not wont to follow in that country, as appears from what Thevenot ſays of this thunder, which he tells us killed a man in the caſtle there, *though it had never been heard before that thunder had killed any body at Cairo*. For divers people then to have been killed by the lightning and the hail, beſides cattle, was an event that Moſes might well ſay had never happened *there* before, from the time it began to be inhabited.

I will only add, that Moſes, by repreſenting this as an *extraordinary hail*, ſuppoſed that it did ſometimes hail there, as it is found in fact to do, though not as in other countries [3]. The not raining in Ægypt, it is well known, is to be underſtood in the ſame manner.

[1] Vol. 1. p. 59. [2] Part 1. p. 247. [3] So Dr. Perry tells us, that when he was at Cairo, there was one ſhower of *hail*, as well as ſeveral of rain, which firſt they were told had not been obſerved before in any man's memory, p. 255. It appears by circumſtances that it was early in the Spring.]

OBSER-

Observation X.

[Dr. Shaw, with a multitude of other learned men, ſuppoſeth the *behemoth* of the book of Job is the hippopotamus, or *river-horſe*. He alſo apprehends, that the Prænestine pavement, of which he has given a draught, p. 422, 423, exhibits a true, and *not a romantic* repreſentation of the Natural Hiſtory of Ægypt.

If theſe two ſuppoſitions be juſt, there is a great deal of beauty in the *ranging* the deſcriptions of the *behemoth* and the *leviathan*, which laſt, I think, is univerſally now allowed to be the *crocodile*.

For in that Moſaic pavement, the people of an Ægyptian barque are repreſented as darting *ſpears*, or ſome ſuch weapons, at one of the river-horſes; as another of them is pictured with two ſticking near his ſhoulders. Conſequently, if this piece of antiquity truly exhibits the managements of the Ægyptians, according to the ſuppoſition, it was a cuſtomary thing with the old Ægyptians thus to attack theſe animals. And if ſo, how beautifull is the arrangement! There is a moſt happy gradation: after a pompous, but juſt repreſentation of the terribleneſs of the river-horſe, the Almighty is repreſented as going on with his expoſtulations, ſomething after this manner, *But dreadful as this animal is*, barbed irons *and* ſpears *have ſometimes pre-*

vailed againſt him; but what wilt thou do with the crocodile? Canſt thou fill his ſkin with barbed irons, or his head with fiſh-ſpears? The ſword of him that layeth at him cannot hold; the ſpear, the dart, nor the He eſteemeth iron as ſtraw, and braſs as rotten wood. The iron cannot make him flee: ſling-ſtones are turned with him into ſtubble, darts are counted as ſtubble: he laugheth at the ſhaking of a ſpear, &c. What wilt thou do with this creature, O Job! This is finiſhing the expoſtulation in the *ſtrongeſt*, in the moſt *majeſtic* manner.

I am not inſenſible ſeveral authors have deſcribed the hippopotamos as nearly *invulnerable*. Maillet tells us, "it's ſkin is *two* "*fingers thick*, and that it is ſo much the "more difficult to kill it, as there is only "a ſmall place in it's forehead, where it can "be wounded [1]." He adds, that "ſome "Nubian ſervants that he had, informed "him, that the ſkin of one of them, pre-"ſerved at Sannar, would have been brought "to him with difficulty by *four* camels." If their account could be depended upon, the ſkin of this animal muſt have weighed about *as much again* as that of the mighty elephant, belonging to the King of the Two Sicilies, which died in the beginning of the year 1755, and which was deſcribed by the celebrated Abbot Nollet. The ſkin of this elephant when taken off, we are told, weighed ſeventy-

[1] Lett. 9. p. 31.

four

four ſtone and an half, avoirdupois weight[2]. But as the Natural Hiſtory of the hippopotamus is not ſufficiently known, as Haſſelquiſt juſtly remarks, on the one hand; and I am ſuppoſing the Prænestine-Moſaic pavement not romantic, on the other; we are to conſider it as *vulnerable*, and purſued by the Ægyptians with *ſpears and barbed irons*, while nothing of that ſort appears to be done there to the crocodiles, which are alſo figured in that pavement.

It is farther to be obſerved, that theſe river-horſes appear, in this celebrated pavement, on the hillocks that are ſeen here and there, riſing above the water, among the vegetables growing upon them: may we not believe theſe are the *hills*, the *mountains* as our tranſlation renders the word, "which bring him "forth food: where all the beaſts of the "field play?" ver. 20. It is certain the altar of God, which was only ten cubits high, and fourteen ſquare, is called the *Mountain of God*, Ezek. xliii. 15[3]. The eminences then of Ægypt, which appear as the inundation of the Nile decreaſes, may undoubtedly be called Mountains in the *poetical* language of the book of Job. Nor is it any wonder that theſe animals are pictured in this pavement on theſe eminences, ſince the Turkey-wheat is what they are fond of, and this vegetable

[2] Annual Regiſter for 1761. or the margin of our tranſlation.

[3] Conſult the original,

appears from time to time in theſe eminences. So Haſſelquiſt tells us, that when he went to the burying-place of the Mummies, he ſaw, on the ſeventeenth of September, "the "places not yet overflown, or where it had "already begun to decreaſe, appeared cloth-"ed with a charming verdure, a great part "ſown with *Turkey-wheat*, and ſome parts, "though but few, with *lucern*[4]." And on the other hand he tells us in another place, "that the *river-horſe does much damage to the* "*Ægyptians, in thoſe places he frequents, de-*"*ſtroying in a ſhort ſpace of time an entire* "field of corn or clover, *not leaving the leaſt* "*verdure as he paſſes: being voracious, and re-*"*quiring much to fill his great belly.*" This agrees with Maillet's account, who tells us, "it is incredible how pernicious he is to the "productions of the earth, deſolating the "fields, and eating in all places through "which he paſſes the ears of corn, *eſpecially* "*the Turkey wheat*[5]."

Haſſelquiſt, in the firſt of the two laſt citations, goes on to inform us, that "innu-"merable kinds of birds were to be ſeen *on* "*the places not under water* all which "excited his attention, but not ſo much "as the crane called Ibis: I thought this "moſt remarkable, as an incredible number "covered the fields. We ſee *birds* accord-"ingly, upon ſome of the hillocks of the

[4] P. 84, 85. [5] Lett. 9. p. 31.

"Præ-

" Prænestine pavement, and *beasts*, in great " *variety*, upon others." This answers that other clause in Job, " Where *all* the beasts " of the fields play," or are pleased, and enjoy themselves. All the wild beasts of the countries where the elephant resides are not mountaineers; and if they were, it would be difficult to assign a reason why that circumstance should be mentioned in a description of the terribleness of the elephant; but *all* the quadrupeds of Ægypt are obliged to retire to these eminences, when the Nile overflows, and the coming of an hippotamus among them, and destroying all the verdure of the places of their retirement, augments our ideas of their terribleness.

A rhinoceros appears on one of these eminences, a most powerful, warlike, and *well-guarded* animal, but most probably not known in Ægypt so early as the time of Job, and therefore not taken notice of in the expostulations of God with him.]

Observation XI. IX.

Immediately after those verses of the nineteenth of Isaiah, which I had occasion to cite under Obs. IV, mention is made of the fishers of Ægypt; and it appears from Num. xi. 5, " We remember the fish, which we " did eat in Ægypt freely," that there are great quantities of fish in that country: what therefore le Bruyn has said, and Dr.

Wells repeated from him, in vol. ii. of his Hiſtorical Geography of the Old Teſtament [1], may appear ſurpriſing to ſome readers; I mean that the Nile, whether from the muddineſs of its waters, or the numerouſneſs of the crocodiles in it, has not many fiſh. As no commentator, that I know of, has touched upon this difficulty, it is a proper ſubject for theſe papers.

In the firſt place then, fiſh might be very plentiful in Ægypt, though they do not appear in great numbers in the ſtream of the Nile. There are ſeveral lakes and reſervoirs of water in that country, in which they may appear in great quantities, and certainly do. Le Bruyn himſelf would not have conteſted this: for ſpeaking of a lake two Italian miles to the Eaſt of Damietta, called the Dead-ſea, he ſays, it was *extremly full* of fiſh [2]. Other lakes are, doubtleſs, as full. *Great quantities* are catched in that called Mœris, according to Dr. Pococke, eſpecially when the lake is low, and carried to Faiume market, where they are ſold *very cheap* [3]. Maillet alſo aſſures us, that there muſt be a prodigious number of fiſh in Ægypt, ſince there are ſometimes aſſembled upon thoſe lakes or ponds to which the water-game repair, an hundred thouſand agobilles, a voracious kind of fowl, of which each devours at leaſt *three or four pounds of*

[1] P. 67. [2] Extraordinairement poiſſonneuſe, tome 1. p. 576. [3] Vol. 1. p. 65.

fiſh

fish every day [4]. He adds, that the *coasts* of the Lower Ægypt are equally rich in fish, and that an infinity of fish of different sorts are taken in the Red-sea: so that fish may be extremely plentiful and cheap in Ægypt, if but few should be found directly in the Nile, which le Bruyn affirms, but which Maillet denies. Curiosity in the mean while may lead a person to endeavour to decide this difference, but the honour of the Scriptures by no means engages us to this, since they are *ponds* for fish that the Prophet speaks of, and the fishers are supposed to angle in the brooks, or canals cut from the Nile, as the word signifies.

Some fish however the Scriptures seem to suppose are in the river itself, "The fish that "is in the river shall die," Exod. vii. 18: which, as le Bruyn doth not deny, so Norden gives us to understand, is the fact, by his account of his finding a native of Barbary fishing at the cátaract, who, by the assistance of a little hook, made Norden catch some excellent carp, which the Barbarin himself carried for him to the barque [5]; and his speaking afterwards of fish as plentiful there, when he gives an account of his return to the cataract on the eleventh of January [6]. Maillet in like manner speaks of carp in the Nile, as well as of various other kinds of fish there [7], observing with sur-

[4] Lett. 9. p. 21. 25. [5] Part 2. p. 115. 119.
[6] P. 167. [7] Lett. 9. p. 25.

prize, that though there is an aſtoniſhing quantity of fiſh in that river, excepting eels [8], there are hardly any of *our ſorts* of river-fiſh to be found in it. To this he adds, as an amazing curioſity, that in the months of December, January, and February, they catch very good herrings in the neighbourhood of Cairo, but none at Roſetto, and very few at Damietta, by which they muſt paſs in their way to Cairo; nor are they ever found in the Mediterranean.

Sandys agrees with Maillet in his account of an abundance of fiſh in the Nile, and of their differing much from ours in ſhape and quality. He ſays, that in going up the Nile, they often bought as much fiſh by the way for ſix-pence, as would have ſatisfied twenty people [9]; but informs us that, by reaſon of the muddy channel, they were not altogether ſavoury nor wholſome [10]. Egmont and Heyman agree with Sandys, as to the muddy taſte of the fiſh of the Nile in general, but affirm that there are ſeveral ſorts which are very palatable: they mention four ſorts in particular, one of which is ſaid to weigh between two and three hundred pounds; and two other ſorts weigh near thirty pounds a fiſh. All which are caught, they ſay, at all ſeaſons in the Nile [11].

[8] To which we muſt add the carp, which he ſpeaks of.
[9] Sandys, p. 92. [10] P. 78. [11] Vol. 2. p. 220.

OBSERVATION XII. X.

The *fiſh* of Ægypt are eaten *in common* with pleaſure by the inhabitants of that country; but in *April and May*, which is the hot ſeaſon there, they ſcarce eat any thing elſe but fiſh, with pulſe and herbs: the great heat taking away their appetite *for all ſorts of meat*.

This is Dr. Pococke's account, vol. 1. p. 182. Maillet ſays much the ſame[1]. Both agree that they are the months of April and May, in which they eat no fleſh, and that it is owing to the great heats, which, Maillet ſays, are occaſioned by the South-winds that then blow. Maillet farther tells us, that Mohammedans and Chriſtians, and people of all ſorts that inhabit Ægypt, adopt this cuſtom, which is a very ancient one; and that the fiſh, which is eaten at this time, is of two ſorts, the one freſh, the other dried in the ſun, which, though it comes from the *Red-Sea*, is prepared at Damietta. That they eat alſo quantities of fiſh of another ſort, prepared with nothing more than ſalt and water, being a kind of ſmall muſcles, very much reſembling thoſe of France. The *Great* themſelves, he tells us, have no other food at this ſeaſon.

Perhaps it may be imagined, that the complaint of the children of Iſrael in the

[1] Lett. 11. p. 109, 110.

wilderneſs, " We remember the *fiſh* which " we did eat in Ægypt freely, the cucum- " bers, the melons, &c; but now our ſoul " is *dried away*, there is nothing at all, be- " ſides this manna," Num. xi. 5, 6, aroſe from the ſame cauſe, the peculiar ſultrineſs of the weather, and their being accuſtomed in theſe hot ſeaſons to eat fiſh, and ſuch refreſhing vegetables, and conſequently that they were ſomewhat hardly dealt with, in being puniſhed with death, on account of this pining for the wonted diet of ſuch times. But it is moſt probable, that the complaint of Iſrael rather proceeded from a wayward and perverſe kind of luxurioufneſs, and for that reaſon drew down ſuch a ſevere animadverſion from heaven. So de Vitriaco telleth us [z], that ſome of the more delicate Ægyptians *pined to death*, when Damiata was beſieged, (A. D. 1218,) *though they had a ſufficiency of corn*, for want of the food they were uſed to, *pompions*, garlick, onions, *fiſh*, birds, fruit, *herbs*, &c. It appears at leaſt very clear, that the Iſraelites did not arrive at this ſtation till the latter end of May, if before June, from Num. x. 11; and it ſeems to have been ſome time after that before this murmuring, Num. xi. 4; ſo that either the South-winds do not blow at the ſame time in the deſert, that they are wont to do in Ægypt, or this complaint did not ariſe from that cauſe.

[z] Geſta Dei &c, p. 1142.

OBSER-

Observation XIII. XI.

In the Moſaic pavement at Prænesſte, we ſee a repreſentation of thoſe toils with which the Ægyptians were wont to catch fiſh. Theſe toils, Dr. Shaw tells us, continue to be uſed by the Ægyptians to this day. They are made up of ſeveral hurdles of reeds, fixed in various windings and directions, and ending in a ſmall point; into which the fiſh being driven, they are taken out with nets or baſkets, as there repreſented. The ſame method, he had before obſerved, is made uſe of on the coaſt of Barbary [1].

The Doctor goes no farther; but Maillet affirms, that they make no uſe of *nets* at all in Ægypt. He mentions this indeed occaſionally, but in ſuch a manner as ſhews he was aſſured of the fact; for, having mentioned ſeveral methods the Ægyptians make uſe of for catching crocodiles, he ſays [2], "Others take this animal in a way that I "can give no account of, but I am very ſure "it cannot be with *nets*, ſince *they are not in* "*uſe in this country*." And accordingly we find nothing that looks like a net in that pavement.

Nets are uſed in other countries in the Levant. Dr. Pococke expreſſly ſays, that they went in a boat on the lake of Tiberias,

[1] In a note on p. 424. [2] Lett. 9. p. 32.

and that they diverted themſelves with fiſhing with *caſting-nets*, which *they uſe there*, throwing whenever they ſee the fiſh [3]. The not uſing them in Ægypt then, I ſhould think, muſt be in conſequence of its being an old cuſtom not to uſe them in that country.

If they have never been in uſe in that country, in what a light muſt we look upon ſome tranſlations of Iſaiah xix. 8, 9, 10, where, though nets were not uſed in Ægypt, the word occurs in the ſingular, or plural number, no leſs than three times in a deſcription of the Ægyptian fiſhery? Such a tranſlation is that of Pagninus, even as corrected by Arias Montanus; and ſuch is that of the curious Vitringa. Fiſhing with an *hook* is an Ægyptian practice: in that manner the Barbarin fiſhed, that Norden met with near the cataract; and the figure of a man in a boat, fiſhing after that manner, ſeems to appear in the Prænestine pavement. Fiſhing with toils is Ægyptian alſo, and may be ſuppoſed to be referred to in the 8th verſe, where toils might have been put in the room of the word *nets*. As for the other two verſes, the learned are not agreed as to the preciſe ſenſe of them; and for my part, I ſhall take no other notice of them, than juſt to obſerve, that the Septuagint tranſlators, who are ſuppoſed to have lived in this country, ſaw nothing of nets in them.

[3] Vol. 2. p. 69.

It

It ought however to be acknowledged, that theſe tranſlators ſeem to have been doubtful, whether a word uſed *in the 8th verſe* might not be intended to ſignify *nets*, for they have expreſſed there both toils and nets, if I underſtand them right: "And "the fiſhermen ſhall groan, and all that "caſt an hook into the river, ſhall groan; "and they that throw nets, and they that "ſet toils[4], ſhall mourn." But whether we can from hence certainly conclude, that *nets were uſed in Ægypt* in the days of theſe tranſlators, may be queſtioned; as may Maillet's account of the fiſhing with *nets*, in the lake at Memphis, in ancient days once in three years, *nets* at other times being only uſed by the Ægyptian kings of thoſe times; for this account is taken, not from any contemporary author, but *Arabs* who wrote *long after*, and perhaps theſe not cited with the utmoſt accuracy, which certainly was not the diſtinguiſhing talent of this French writer. What he ſays of the not uſing nets in theſe times, is much more to be depended on, as he ſpeaks there from *his own knowledge* of the uſages of the country.

Nets are however uſed in Ægypt for the catching of birds, for Egmont and Heyman aſſure us, they ſaw them ſet among the reeds

[4] Οι Αμφιβολεις, which word *may* ſignify fiſhermen *in general*; but here, ſeems to be particularly expreſſive of thoſe that ſet toils in *various* windings and directions, which Dr. Shaw ſpeaks of.

by

by the ſea-ſide for quails, vol. 2. p. 206, 207; though they are not uſed, if Maillet ſpeaks truth, in their fiſhing.

XII. Observation XIV.

[There ſeems to be a good deal of reaſon to queſtion the accuracy of our tranſlation of Numb. xi. 5: "We remember the fiſh "which we did eat in Ægypt freely; the "cucumbers, and the melons, and the *leeks*, "and the onions, and the *garlick*.

I am not the firſt that has called the juſtneſs of this tranſlation into queſtion; the learned and celebrated Ludolphus was not ſatisfied with thoſe verſions, which, like our's, repreſent the children of Iſrael as complaining for want of the *leeks* they were wont to eat in Ægypt: yet theſe tranſlations are conformable to that of the Seventy, an Ægyptian work. Ludolphus, from the Arabic, has propoſed to tranſlate the third word *lettuce*, or *ſalads* in general[1], inſtead of *leeks*.

To enable us to judge of this in the faireſt manner, it is requiſite to conſider what are the moſt common things that are at this time eaten in Ægypt, and which are more eſpecially grateful on account of their cooling qualities, or leaſt diſguſtful in very hot weather. It appears from a preceding Ob-

[1] See Biſhop Patrick on the place. The Biſhop, however, has been guilty of a little overſight, when he ſuppoſes the word Chatzir (the third word) is tranſlated *onions*, that is the word that is tranſlated *leeks*.

ſervation,

ſervation, that *fiſh* was eagerly deſired by the Ægyptians in hot weather; and theſe *vegetables* without doubt were ſuch as were wont to be eaten at ſuch times, or at leaſt were found to be cooling, and on that account pleaſureable.]

Maillet then, in deſcribing the vegetables that the Ægyptians uſe for food [2], tells us, that *melons*, *cucumbers*, and *onions*, are ſome of the moſt common; and concerning the laſt of theſe, he ſays, they are ſweeter than in any other place in the world; that an hundred pounds weight of them may be ſometimes purchaſed for eight or ten ſols [3]; and that there is ſuch an abundance of them, that they fill all the ſtreets of Cairo, where they ſell them ready prepared for eating. He obſerves, that there grows wild in the fields of Ægypt a *ſuccory*, or *endive*, a thouſand times ſweeter than that of our gardens; that it comes up *naturally in the meadows*, without any art for its improvement, but is found much more plentifully on the ſide of Matarée, than in any other part of the country: none but Franks, he farther tells us, take any pains to have it blanched; as to the common people, they take it juſt as they find it, and *half of them* ſcarce eat any thing elſe. He tells us alſo that *purſlane* is very common here; that the *Roman lettuces* begin in November, and continue to April.

[2] Lett. 9. [3] A ſol is not worth much more than an halfpenny.

Theſe

Theſe lettuces are all very good, but thoſe that are ſown laſt are much preferable to the others. They have a ſugar-like taſte, ſo agreeable, that they eat them without ſalt, without oil, without vinegar. "I myſelf," Maillet ſays, "do the ſame, without being "able to ſay whether I am led to it by ex-"ample, or the nature of the thing itſelf." Theſe, with *radiſhes*, *carrots*, *beans*, and the leaves of the vine, are all the things of this kind, I think, which he ſpeaks of as eaten in Ægypt, excepting a plant that grows near the mountains of that country, the pith of which the Arabs, who are ſhepherds, as the Iſraelites were, he was told, were wont to dry for food [4]. To which we are to add, I preſume, the ancient lotus: whether we are to underſtand by it the colocaſſia, which Maillet ſays is common in that country, and its root very good to eat when properly dreſſed, and which, according to Monſ. Belon, the Ægyptians actually boil with moſt of their meat [5]; or whether we underſtand it of a plant more nearly reſembling the nymphæa, or water-lily, and which perhaps is deſcribed by du Halde in his Hiſtory of Chna [6]. Be it the one or the other, or a vegetable

[4] Lett. 9. p. 18. [5] See Ray's Collect. of Travels, part 2. p. 92. [6] Aſtley's Collection of Voyages and Travels gives this account of it from du Halde, "In artificial fiſh-ponds, and often in the marſhes, there "grows a flower called *lyen-wha*, in much eſteem with "the *Chineſe*. By the leaves, the fruit, and ſtalk, it ap-"pears

vegetable different from both, it appears in the Prænestine table, rising up every where in the waters of Ægypt, in the time of the inundation of that country[7], and consequently we may believe, grew wild in Ægypt in the time the Israelites sojourned there, as it did at the time of making that table.

Let us now consider what are those vegetables they were most likely to wish for *in a time of great heat*, when they were wont particularly to desire fish. *Cucumbers*, every body knows, are extremely cooling and re-

" pears to be the *nenuphar*, *nymphæa*, or *water-lily*; " which is but little valued in Europe." Upon which this collector observes in a note, that du Halde elsewhere says, it differs much from the water-lily, as well in the fruit, as the blossom and root. Then after having said in the text, from du Halde, that whole lakes are covered with its flowers, and that it shoots up above the top of the water, a yard, or yard and half, &c, he says, " Its colour is either " violet, or white, or partly red, and partly white: the " smell is very agreeable: its fruit is of the size of an hazle- " nut, the kernel whereof is white, and well-tasted. The " physicians prescribe it to nourish and strengthen people " weakened by long sickness: it is also very cooling in sum- " mer. The leaves are long, and float on the water " The root is knotty, like that of reeds; its pith and sub- " stance is very white. This plant is esteemed all over " the empire, every part of it being of use; they even " make *meal* of it, which serves for several occasions." Vol. 4. p. 304, 305. If *modern* describers of this Chinese plant contradict themselves, in their accounts of it, shall we wonder at some inaccuracies in the *ancient* descriptions of the lotus? The curious would do well in publishing an exact account of this Chinese plant, and in determining whether the same does not grow in Ægypt. [7] See the table in Shaw.

freſhing to the Eaſtern people in hot weather. *Melons* are the ſame. We may then pay that deference, I think, to the Ægyptian tranſlation of the Seventy, as to ſuppoſe they were two of the things the Iſraelites longed for in the wilderneſs.

Maillet makes no mention of *leeks* in his catalogue of the edible vegetables of Ægypt; they then could hardly be meant. Nor are *leeks*, I think, reckoned to be of a cooling nature. But what ſeems to put it out of all reaſonable doubt is, the ſame word is uſed to expreſs the food of horſes and mules, 1 Kings xviii. 5, which can hardly therefore be allowed to mean *leeks*, but may very well ſtand for ſuch vegetables as grew *promiſcuouſly* with graſs, which the ſuccory or endive, it ſeems, doth; for Maillet tells us it comes up *naturally in the meadows*. The ſame word then that denotes graſs, may very well be ſuppoſed to include the herbs that grew among the graſs, and particularly this *ſuccory or endive*, which are mentioned by the writers on the Materia Medica as very cooling plants. Whether the word means *lettuce* too, and all *ſalads* in general, as Ludolphus ſuppoſes, is not ſo certain. If *half* the ancient Ægyptians eat the ſuccory or endive, and ſcarce any thing elſe, as Maillet obſerves of thoſe of modern times, this vegetable muſt, without doubt, be included in ſome of the words here made uſe of, moſt probably in the third, *we remember the cucumbers,*

the

the melons, the herbage we did eat in the land of Ægypt.

In like manner, one can hardly imagine that the fifth word means *garlick*: for though I find by *Niebuhr*, that *garlick* is made uſe of by the modern Arabs, as a preſervative againſt the deadly quality of their hot winds; for ſpeaking of ſeveral that have periſhed immediately by the ſmûm [8], he ſays, "more "have lived ſome hours; others have been "recovered by the refreſhments the Arabs "generally carry with them in journeying, "ſuch as *garlick* and raiſins, and which they "make uſe of with ſucceſs, in recalling to "life perſons nearly ſtifled," p. 8; yet we are aſſured by Dr. Haſſelquiſt, p. 290, 291, *that garlick doth not grow in Ægypt; and though it is much uſed, it is brought from the iſlands of the Archipelago.* Now if in theſe times garlick continues to be imported from thoſe iſlands, we cannot ſuppoſe they were things that the inſlaved Iſraelites were much acquainted with, when reſiding in Ægypt in thoſe elder times. Perhaps the roots of the colocaſſia might be meant, which are large, Maillet tells us, almoſt round, and of a reddiſh colour; and as being near a-kin to the nymphæa, I ſhould ſuppoſe the colocaſſia is very *cooling*.

[8] A deſtructive hot wind, which frequently blows in their deſerts, called by Dr. Ruſſell, in his Hiſtory of Aleppo, the ſumyel.

But be this as it may, we may ſuppoſe the Ægyptian tranſlators of the Septuagint were right in ſuppoſing one of theſe five words meant *onions:* ſince, though they do not appear to us to poſſeſs any very cooling qualities, yet they are, and were anciently very much uſed for food in Ægypt; and it is to be remembered, the Ægyptian onions differ conſiderably from ours. So Haſſelquiſt tells us, "Whoever has taſted onions in "Ægypt, muſt allow that none can be "had better in any part of the univerſe: "here they are ſweet, in other countries "they are nauſeous and ſtrong; here they "are ſoft, whereas in the North, and other "parts, they are hard, and the coats ſo "compact, that they are hard of digeſtion. "Hence they cannot in any place be eaten "with leſs prejudice, and more ſatisfaction, "than in Ægypt.—They eat them roaſted, "cut into four pieces, with ſome bits of "roaſted meat, which the Turks, in Ægypt, "call kebab; and with this diſh they are ſo "delighted, that I have heard them wiſh "they might enjoy it in Paradiſe. They "likewiſe make a ſoup of them in Ægypt, "cutting the onions in ſmall pieces: this, "I think, is one of the beſt diſhes I ever "eat." Perhaps it may not be amiſs to add, that, according to Plaiſtead, thoſe that travel the deſerts now frequently take onions with them, along with other proviſions, p. 31: if they did ſo anciently, theſe complaining

Iſraelites

Iſraelites could hardly forget the onions of Ægypt, when in the deſert they were pining for what they had enjoyed among the Ægyptians.

I would onlyfarther add, that it was of the *fiſh* only that the text expreſsly obſerveth the Iſraelites had eaten freely, or gratis, in Ægypt; but we may believe the other things were ſuch as they could procure with little trouble there: this was certainly true with reſpect to the endive or ſuccory, and the colocaſſia we have been ſpeaking of, which appear to have grown wild there; and with reſpect to the cucumbers, the melons, and the onions, they might be indulged with the liberty of places in which they might ſow theſe plants, and receive the benefit of them. The wild Arabs of Ægypt now enjoy that liberty: ſo captain Norden found the borders of the canal of Cleopatra, near Alexandria, peopled by divers *flying-camps* of the Bedouins, or wandering Arabs [9], in June or July [10], about which time Egmont and Heyman found the ſame canal almoſt dry, and in it vaſt numbers of cucumbers, of which they eat ſome, and found them very palatable [11].

Observation XV. XIII.

It is no wonder to find *birds*, in de Vitriaco's catalogue of the things that the

[9] Vol. 1. p. 17. [10] Preface, p. 19. [11] Vol. 2. ch. 8.

people of delicacy pined for, when beſieged in Damiata, there are ſeveral of exquiſite taſte in Ægypt. Norden, who differs extremely in his notions of this country from Maillet, its perpetual encomiaſt, and ſpeaks of Ægypt with the ſame freedom, that the ingenious author of the voyage of lord Anſon round the world doth of the celebrated empire of China, yet allows this in more places than one, as appears by the following extracts.

"NOVEMBER 21.

"—Our people fired upon abundance of "pigeons, and killed ſome; but they were "*out of ſeaſon*, and ſo hard that we could "not eat them.

"They found their account better in "killing a ſort of *partridge*, that was *deli-* "*cious*, and of the ſize of our red partridges. "They had feathers like thoſe of the Gui- "nea hens, and the tail like a ſwallow. "Their fleſh has an aromatic taſte, and a "great deal of flavour. There was no one "in our barque that knew them.

"NOVEMBER 29.

"—They killed, however, a *gooſe of the* "*Nile*, and whoſe plumage was extremely "beautiful. But what was ſtill better, it "was of an *exquiſite aromatic taſte*, ſmelt

"of

" of ginger, and had a great deal of fla-
" vour [1].

" NOVEMBER 30.

" —Our people had that day good ſuc-
" ceſs in game. They brought, amongſt
" other things, three *coramanes*, a ſort of
" bird of the ſize of a woodcock, of a *deli-*
" *cious taſte*; but ſtill more eſteemed on ac-
" count of its fine note."

It is no wonder that the Ægyptians of Damiata pined for birds when ſhut up there, ſince there are ſo many extremely delicious in that country; their young houſe-pigeons muſt in conſequence be very excellent, ſince Maillet aſſures us [2], they are highly eſteemed there, and that they are indeed one of the beſt eatables that they have in that country. When therefore Thevenot tells us, that they catch *wild-turtles* in Ægypt, which are *very good*, but that the *houſe-pigeons* are *good for nothing* [3], he is no otherwiſe to be reconciled with Maillet, than by ſuppoſing, as captain Norden doth, that at ſome times they are out of ſeaſon, and that Thevenot happened to eat them at ſuch a time. They were grown *old*.

It ſhould ſeem however from Thevenot, that at the very time that houſe-pigeons are ſo very indifferent, turtles are very good. And for this reaſon I ſuppoſe it was, that

[1] They killed a dozen of theſe geeſe of the Nile, Feb. 1ſt; and ſome, Dec. 14. [2] Lett. 9. p. 22. [3] Part 1. p. 247.

the law of Moſes ordered them to offer on particular occaſions two pigeons, or two turtles; not merely according to the pleaſure of the offerer, but according as they were in ſeaſon: pigeons being ſometimes quite hard and unfit for eating, *at which time* turtles are very good in Ægypt, and, as we may ſuppoſe, in the Holy-Land.

Agreeably to this we find that Moſes expreſsly enjoined *young* pigeons, and with reaſon, ſince the ſacrifices of God were to be of the beſt; and theſe creatures grow very diſagreeable as they grow old. There is not the ſame reſtraint as to turtle-doves: they are birds of paſſage, and are very good, it ſeems, when they appear in theſe countries, in which point Maillet expreſsly [4] agrees with Thevenot. The Jewiſh doctors however have put their limitations upon theſe birds [5], *young* turtle-doves being, according to them, unlawful, as pigeons are, when *old*, and are not allowable, if they are in the right, until after they wax golden-coloured. Whether this is any more than a fancy derived from the words of the Pſalmiſt, Pſalm lxviii. 13, or whether turtle-doves are really not ſo good to eat until they are thus coloured, which can be the only juſt reaſon to ſuppoſe them unlawful, does not appear from any thing I have met with in reading, ſo far as I can recollect. The ſilence of Moſes

[4] Lett. 9. p. 21. [5] See Ainſworth on Lev. 1. 14.

upon

upon the point is but unfavourable to thoſe that ſit in his chair.

The number of pigeon-houſes is extremely great in Ægypt, *each* habitation being terminated at the top by a pigeon-houſe, above three quarters of the way from the firſt cataract to Cairo [6]; they are numerous alſo in Lower-Ægypt [7]. Maundrell found them as plentiful in ſome parts of Syria [8]; and there is reaſon to ſuppoſe, that in the time that the Jews were in their own country, they were as numerous there [9]. Pigeons however do not ſeem to have bred as early in Palæſtine as in Ægypt, ſince it appears by a citation in Lightfoot [10], that their not being fledged, and fit for uſe, was one cauſe anciently of intercalating the year: young pigeons then were not to be commonly had in Judæa till the Paſſover, that is till April or May; but we find there are young ones in Ægypt, at leaſt in the Upper Ægypt, much earlier, for Dr. Pococke had a preſent of twelve pigeons made him in January or February [11].

As for the other delicious birds that Norden ſpeaks of, the ſwallow-tailed partridges, the coramanes, and the geeſe of the Nile, it does not appear whether their Jew that attended them eat of them. But ſurely one

[6] Norden, p. 20. vol. 2. [7] Le Bruyn, tom. 1. p. 588. [8] P. 3. [9] See ch. 3. Obſ. 27. [10] Vol. 2. p. 185. [11] Vol. 1. p. 116.

of that nation of a ſcrupulous conſcience muſt be uneaſy, leſt he ſhould eat one or other of thoſe birds which were forbidden by the law of Moſes, when travelling in theſe countries, ſince they cannot now be aſcertained: one ſure evidence, among others as ſtriking, that this diſpenſation muſt be ended, which gives leave to thoſe that are under it, to catch birds, and to eat them, after having poured out their blood, but forbids the eating of ſome ſpecies, which cannot now be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, at leaſt many of them. A divine diſpenſation could never be intended to outlive the knowledge neceſſary to the obſerving its precepts.

It is not perfectly ſatisfying to the mind to ſuppoſe, that the law could not intend to refer to birds which probably were not known in the Jewiſh country, for thoſe ceremonial injunctions, it is moſt likely, had *ſome* relation to Ægyptian affairs; but what is more, ſome of the delicious birds of Ægypt were found alſo in Palæſtine: ſo Egmont and Heyman found a bird in Ægypt about the ſize of a thruſh, but of a green colour, whoſe fleſh was remarkably palatable, which they affirm are very common in Palæſtine. Vol. ii. p. 112.

XIV. OBSERVATION XVI.

Though Maillet tells us that olive-trees thrive to a wonder in this country, and pro-

duce fruit very commonly as large as walnuts [1], yet Biſhop Pococke aſſures us, that the country about Arſinoë was the only part of Ægypt that *naturally* produced the olive, and that it was cultivated by *art* in the gardens of Alexandria [2], which he ſeems to mention as a wonder, becauſe the olive-tree flouriſhes in the South of France.

Whatever then a few cultivated trees might produce, Ægypt could not be a country remarkable for oil of olives, which yet is one great comfort of life in the Eaſtern countries, being very much uſed there for food. At the ſame time oil was wanted for lights which muſt not only have been very numerous *neceſſarily* in ſuch a thick-peopled country; but was uſed by the ancient Ægyptians in great quantities for *illuminations*, (which are ſtill very frequent in theſe countries,) and eſpecially in thoſe months in which the Nile overflows, of which Maillet gives a moſt amuſing deſcription [3], and which we may ſuppoſe more or leſs even in the Prophetic times. To which alſo is to be added the cuſtom that obtains univerſally in this country; of keeping lamps burning during the night, in all the apartments of an houſe that are made uſe of; which occaſions Maillet to ſay, that perhaps there is no country in the world in which ſo much oil is conſumed as in Ægypt [4].

[1] Lett. 9. p. 16. [2] Vol. 1. p. 57. [3] Lett. 2. p. 80. [4] Lett. 9. p. 10.

This

This great conſumption of oil occaſioned them anciently to draw it from other vegetables, as well as olives, and occaſions them to do it ſtill. A plant in particular called cirika, which a good deal reſembles wild ſuccory, furniſhes them with a good deal of oil; but as its ſmell is very diſagreeable, and its light not ſo good as that of olive-oil, it is not burnt by people of condition, or thoſe that would be thought to be ſuch [5].

Syria, on the contrary, was a land of oil [6], and it was produced in great quantities in that part of it which the Jews inhabited [7]; it is no wonder then, that when the Jews wanted to court the Ægyptians, they ſent them a preſent of oil, which the Prophet Hoſea upbraided them with, ch. xii. 1: it was what their country produced in large quantities, and it is what was highly acceptable in Ægypt.

XV. OBSERVATION XVII.

If oil was ſo welcome to Ægypt, the *Ægyptian horſes* were equally acceptable to the Syrian Princes, who, it ſeems, had them brought out of that country, by the means of King Solomon, as we read 1 Kings x. 28, 29, and 2 Chron. i. 16, 17, at a conſiderable expenſe.

[5] La même, p. 10, 11. [6] Ch. 8. Obſ. 2. [7] See Deut. 8. 8, 2 Kings 18. 32, and Dr. Shaw, p. 339.

What

What it was that made them prize the Ægyptian horſes ſo highly, is not a point eaſy to be determined. It cannot be imagined that they were animals peculiar to Ægypt, or not known in that part of Aſia, which made them ſo deſirous to tranſplant ſuch an uſeful exotic creature into their countries: for we read of great numbers of them in Syria before the time of Solomon [1]. They might be ſuppoſed however to be *much ſtronger* than the Syrian horſes, and conſequently much more uſeful in war; to which the Prophet Iſaiah may poſſibly refer, when he tells the Iſraelites, that *the Ægyptians were men, and not God, and their* horſes *were* fleſh, *and not* ſpirit, Iſ. xxxi. 3. For it is well known, that they are much *larger* than other Eaſtern horſes, as well as more *beautiful* [2]. Or they might be choſen on the account of their ſtatelineſs, and their being more proper for the uſe of thoſe who deſired to appear in great pomp and dignity.

But however this was, it ſeems to have been a proof of the great reſpect that was paid to Solomon by the neighbouring Princes, and among the reſt by thoſe of Ægypt, which the Scripture ſpeaks of, but which has not, that I know of, been remarked by commen-

[1] See 1 Sam. 13. 5, where we read of ſix thouſand *horſemen*, and thirty thouſand chariots, which were drawn, I preſume it will be allowed, by *horſes*, and conſequently ſixty-ſix thouſand horſes were in this army. See alſo 2 Sam. x. 18. [2] Shaw, p. 166, Maillet, Lett. 9. p. 27.

tators,

tators, as pointed out in these passages, though they are very clear proofs of it, if the present Ægyptian usages are derived from remote antiquity in this point, as they are in most other things: for in Monsr. Maillet's last letter but one, he gives a long account of the *difficulty* of conveying horses out of Ægypt, which is so great, he says, that excepting those that are designed for Turks of high distinction at Constantinople, it cannot be overcome. Maillet himself, though Consul-General of France in Ægypt, and though he had powerful connexions with the great men there, could never obtain this liberty; and he spends above two pages in proposing projects for doing that by *subtilty*, which he despaired of effecting by *any other means*. It is most probable the like difficulty subsisted in the time of Solomon, as the customs of Ægypt are so very ancient, and consequently his bringing horses out of this country for himself, and for other Princes, at his pleasure, ought to be looked upon as a proof of the respect with which he was treated; as the fondness of the present great men of the East for the horses of Ægypt, may account for the desire the Kings of the Hittites and of Syria had to obtain them.

XVI. OBSERVATION XVIII.

As for the linen-yarn, mentioned in these Scriptures, it is still, according to Norden, one

one of the principal of their merchandiſes, and is ſent away in prodigious quantities [1], along with unmanufactured flax, and cotton ſpun. To which I would add this remark of Sanutus [2], who lived about four hundred years ago, that though Chriſtian countries abounded in his time in flax, yet the goodneſs of the Ægyptian was ſuch, that it was diſperſed all about, even into the Weſt; for the ſame reaſon, without doubt, the Jews, Hittites, and Syrians, anciently purchaſed the linen yarn of this country, though they had flax growing in their own.

Observation XIX.

[Our verſion having more than once mentioned the *fine linen* of Ægypt, numbers of people have been ready to imagine their linen manufactures were of the moſt delicate kind, whereas in truth they were but *coarſe*.

Maillet is willing to ſuppoſe, their preſent works are not equal to thoſe of former times: "There is ſtill," he obſerves, "a conſiderable quantity of *cloths* made there, and of "all kinds, manufactures of ſilk and cotton, ſilk and gold, and even velvets. But "I muſt acknowledge, very few that are "perfectly beautiful; and that they are "far ſhort of the riches and perfection of

[1] Vol. 1. p. 70. [2] Geſta Dei &c, tome 2. p. 24.
[1] Lett. 13. p. 193.

"thoſe

" thoſe that were formerly brought from " Ægypt."

With reſpect, however, to their *linen cloth*, it inconteſtably appears, by examining that in which their embalmed bodies are found wrapped up, that their ancient linen fabrics were but coarſe. Dr. Hadley found it to be ſo, upon inſpecting a mummy in the year 1763 [2]. In like manner, Haſſelquiſt, ſpeaking of this matter, ſays, " Their flax is " ſoft and good, but not better than the " European. They make to this day cloth " of it in Ægypt, which is *coarſe*, and of " *little value*, when compared to what is " made in Europe; however, the Turks " purchaſe it, as do the Europeans, on ac- " count of its cheapneſs. By what we can " ſee by the linen wrapped round the mum- " mies, the *famous linen of the ancient Ægyp-* " *tians* was not better than what is made at " preſent in this country. But it was then " the beſt, as Ægypt alone poſſeſſed the art " of cultivating and manufacturing flax. The " Ægyptian linen is not ſo thick as the Eu- " ropean, being ſofter, and of a looſer tex- " ture; for which reaſon it laſts longer,

[2] See the Philoſophical Tranſactions for 1764. Thoſe curious Gentlemen, who were engaged in a very nice examination, tell us, they found the upper filletting of a degree of fineneſs hardly equal to what is ſold at the ſhops for two ſhillings and four pence a yard, under the name of long lawn, woven ſomething after the manner of Ruſſia ſheeting. The inner filletting was in general, they tell us, coarſer, as well as more irregularly laid on.

" and does not wear out ſo ſoon as ours, " &c [3]." He mentions the ſame ſubject again elſewhere, and confirms the preceding account: " *All Ægyptian linen* is coarſe, and " much of the ſame fineneſs with ten or " twelve-penny Iriſh linen; but with this " difference, that the Ægyptian is thin, " and the Iriſh cloſe. . . . The ancients talk " much of the linen of Ægypt, and many " of our learned men imagine that it was ſo " *fine and precious*, that we have even loſt " the art, and cannot make it ſo good. " They have been induced to think ſo, by " the commendations the Greeks have la- " viſhed on the Ægyptian linen. They had " good reaſon for doing it; for they had no " flax themſelves, and were unacquainted " with the art of weaving: but were we to " compare a piece of Holland linen, with " the linen in which the Mummies were " laid, and which is of the oldeſt and beſt " manufacture of Ægypt, we ſhould find " that the fine linen of Ægypt is very coarſe " in compariſon of what is now made. The " Ægyptian linen was fine, and ſought af- " ter by kings and princes, when Ægypt " was the only country that cultivated flax, " and knew how to uſe it [4]."

Haſſelquiſt had the greateſt reaſon to ſuppoſe the linen in which the Mummies were wrapped, was the fineſt at that time in

[3] P. 244, 245. [4] P. 398, 399.

Ægypt;

Ægypt; for thoſe that were ſo embalmed were perſons of great diſtinction, and about whom they ſpared no expenſe.

The celebrity then of the Ægyptian linen was owing to the great imperfection of works of this kind in thoſe early ages: no other in thoſe times being equally good, for that linen cloth was made in ancient times in other countries, contrary to the opinion of Haſſelquiſt, ſeems to be ſufficiently evident, from the ſtory of Rahab, Joſh. ii. 6; and the elogium of a notable Jewiſh matron, Prov. xxxi. 13, 24.

After all, there is no adjective in the original of the Old or the New Teſtament anſwering the word *fine*; there is only a noun ſubſtantive which has been *imagined* to involve in it that idea.

But if it was ſo coarſe, why is it repreſented as ſuch a piece of magnificence, Ezek. xxvii. 7, for the ſhips of Tyre to have their ſails of the linen of Ægypt? Certainly becauſe though coarſe, in our eyes, it was thought to be very valuable, when uſed even for *clothing*; and if *matting* was then commonly uſed for ſails [5], *ſails of linen* muſt have been thought extremely magnificent.

OBSER-

[5] The ſails in the Prænestine pavement ſeem to have been of matting, conſequently the ſails of that time in Ægypt, famous for its pomp. Sails of matting are ſtill uſed by the Arab veſſels on the Red ſea, as we are aſſured by Niebuhr, in his deſcription of that country, p. 188. It appears by Lord Anſon's voyage, that the ſame uſage obtains

Observation XX.

As the linen of Ægypt was anciently very much celebrated, ſo there is reaſon to think, there were *various ſorts* of linen cloth in the days of antiquity: for, little copious as the Hebrew language is, there are no fewer than four different words, at leaſt, which have been rendered linen, or fine linen, by our tranſlators. This would hardly have been, had they not had different kinds.

Our tranſlators have been unfortunate in this article, I think, in ſuppoſing that one of the words might ſignify *ſilk*, and in forgetting cloth made of *cotton*.

When Joſeph was arrayed in the land of Ægypt, as viceroy of that country, they repreſent him as clothed with veſtures of fine linen, Gen. xli. 42; but being dubious of the meaning of the word there, they render it *ſilk* in the margin. This was very unhappy: for they not only tranſlate the word (Sheſh) linen, in a multitude of other places, but certainly, whatever the word ſignifies, it cannot mean *ſilk*, which was not uſed, we have reaſon to think, in thoſe parts of the world, any more than in theſe more Weſtern countries, till long after the time of Joſeph.

obtains in ſome Eaſt-Indian veſſels, b. 3. ch. 5. Probably then it was the common practice in the firſt ages, which has not yet been deviated from in theſe countries.

They have gone farther, for they make the word *ſilk* the textual tranſlation of the Hebrew term Sheſh, in Prov. xxxi. 22, which verſe deſcribes the happy effects of female Jewiſh induſtry: "She maketh herſelf co-"verings of tapeſtry, her clothing is *ſilk* "and purple." They ſuppoſe then, that the Jewiſh women of *not the higheſt rank*, in the time of Solomon, were clothed with veſtments made of a material ſo precious in former times, we are told, as to be ſold for it's *weight in gold*; for which reaſon, it is ſaid, the emperor *Aurelian* refuſed his empreſs a garment of it, though ſhe very importunately deſired one [1]—Aurelian a prince, who reigned over all Syria and Ægypt, the countries we are here ſpeaking about, and the reſt of the mighty Roman empire, and who lived almoſt one thouſand three hundred years later than Solomon, and nearer theſe times in which ſilk is become ſo common. This ſeems very ſtrange!

If they have introduced *ſilk* improperly, as heſitating ſometimes about the meaning of a word rendered in common, linen; their omiſſion of cloth made of *cotton* ſeems to have been as remarkable, on the other hand: ſince cotton grows in great quantities in Ægypt and Syria now, and makes one conſiderable branch of their commerce [2].

[1] Lemery, Dict. des Drogues, art Bombyx. [2] See Norden with reſpect to Ægypt, vol. 1. p. 70; and le Bruyn as to Syria, tom. 2. p. 151.

It

It is very poſſible, however, that the growing of cotton in *Syria* is not of the higheſt antiquity. I am perſuaded the piſhthah of *Rahab*, in particular, doth not mean *cotton*, but *flax*, as our tranſlators have rendered the word, Joſh. ii. 6. It will be right for me to give my reaſons. *Rahab*, the ſacred hiſtorian telleth us, hid the Iſraelitiſh ſpies under the ſtalks of the *piſhthah*, which ſhe had laid in order on the roof of her houſe. This muſt have been in the month of *March*, or thereabouts. For the ſpies were ſent out by Joſhua, as the leader of Iſrael, and conſequently after the death of Moſes: Moſes died, according to the *Jewiſh account*, in the beginning of their twelfth month, that is, ſome time in our February or March; and he *certainly* was alive the firſt day of the eleventh month, Deut. i. 3, in *January*. Agreeably to this we find, that hiding themſelves three days, the ſpies returned to Joſhua on the other ſide Jordan; that, in conſequence of the report they made, Joſhua removed from Shittim to Jordan; that after three days they paſſed over the Jordan, which was done on the tenth day of the firſt month. All theſe particulars appear in the beginning of the book of Joſhua: the ſpies were hidden under the ſtalks of this vegetable then, about the beginning of the firſt ſacred Jewiſh month, that is, ſome time in March, or in the firſt part of April. It could not therefore be *cotton*, for that is not ſown till after

the Jewiſh Paſſover, and is ripe in Autumn: ſo Mr. Maundrell, who had been at Jeruſalem to celebrate Eaſter in 1697, which feſtival every body knows is a little later than the Jewiſh Paſſover, and fell that year on the fourth of April, found the country people every where at plough in the fields, at his return in the middle of April, in order to ſow cotton [3]; and as cotton is ſown about *April*, Dr. Ruſſell ſays that at Aleppo it is gathered in October [4]; and we know, from what has been remarked in the firſt chapter, that vegetables are in about the ſame forwardneſs at Aleppo as in Judæa [5]. The *piſhthah* then of *Rahab* could not be *cotton*.

But it may without difficulty be believed to have been *flax*. I do not at preſent recollect any account, in the volumes of Travels into the Eaſt that I have conſulted, of the time in which they were wont to ſow *flax* in Syria; but I remember to have ſeen an extract [6] from a Memoir relating to the Cultivation of Flax, ſaid to be written by an underſtanding man, who had lived long in *Holland*, where it is a conſiderable branch of trade. In this curious Memoir concern-

[3] P. 110. [4] P. 18. [5] Dr. Pococke's account is not very different: he ſays, it is ſown the beginning of May, and is not ripe till September. He adds, that they turn up the ground ſo lightly, that he ſaw the ſtalks of the laſt year's cotton remaining: conſequently the ſtalks of this vegetable cannot be ſuppoſed to have been brought home to Rahab's. [6] In the Appendix to the 10th volume of the Monthly Review.

ing Flax, in which he tells us *the ſoil muſt be fat and moiſt, he obſerves that the ſeed may be committed to the ground in* March, *if the ſeaſon be favourable; that if ſown* thus early, *it will be ripe at the end of* June, *or the beginning of* July at fartheſt; *that the flax being pulled, it is laid ſoftly upon the ground in large handfulls, and ſeveral handfulls are put one over another, until the heap is a foot and half high, if the weather is uncertain; if dry, it is laid thinner; that if the ſeaſon is favourable, twelve or fourteen days are ſufficient to make it perfectly dry; if wet, they are ſometimes obliged to leave it in little heaps eighteen or twenty days.* From this account it appears, that it is ſown *about the ſame time with barley* here in the Weſt, and that it is ripe about *a month or ſix weeks ſooner* than that grain: now *barley* begins to ripen in thoſe Eaſtern countries about the time of the Paſſover [7], or ſoon after, and conſequently flax there might very well be laid a drying when the ſpies came to Jericho. In Holland they dry the flax-ſtalks in the field; but in the Eaſt they uſe the *roofs* of their houſes for curing their figs and raiſins [8], *for drying the bloſſoms of the ſaffower* uſed in dying [9], &c; and therefore Rahab may very well be ſuppoſed to dry her flax there, eſpecially in a time of apprehen-

[7] Haſſelquiſt, however, I have ſince obſerved, ſays, it flowers in winter, p. 245. [8] Shaw, p. 211. [9] Haſſelquiſt, p. 253

ſion from the approach of enemies, as that undoubtedly was, Joſhua ii. 11. Wherever then we meet with the word *piſhthah*, we may conclude, I believe, that flax is what is meant.

If *cotton* was not originally a production of Syria [10], any more than *ſilk*, yet it has been planted there, we may believe, many ages; and before they began to cultivate it, they might be, and doubtleſs were, acquainted with manufactures of cotton, brought from places farther to the Eaſt. Calicoes and muſlins are ſtill brought from thence to Syria [11]; and as, according to the very ingenious editor of the Ruins of Palmyra, the Eaſt India trade was as ancient at leaſt as the days of Solomon [12], and Palmyra built on account of that commerce, ſome of theſe fine cotton manufactures were probably brought by the caravans then, and are what is meant by the Hebrew word *butz*. There are but ſeven places, I think, in which the word butz occurs in the Old Teſtament. The firſt mention that is made of it is David's wearing a robe of butz, when he removed the ark from the houſe of Obed-edom to Zion, 1 Chron. xv. 27; two other places

[10] Silk as well as cotton is produced now in large quantities in Syria, and makes a very principal part of the riches of that country. Voyage de Syrie, par de la Roque, p. 8. [11] Rauwolff, p. 84. They are brought, in like manner, from the Eaſt Indies to Ægypt. Norden, vol. 1. p. 70. Maillet, Lett. 13. p. 194, 195. [12] P. 18.

refer to the ornaments of Solomon's temple, a fourth to the dreſs of the Levites, a fifth deſcribes it as one of the merchandiſes Syria carried to Tyre, and the other two relate to the court of Ahaſuerus King of Perſia. How natural to underſtand all theſe places of Eaſt Indian manufactures, *muſlins, or fine calicoes!*

Solomon's making the dreſs of the Levites the ſame with what his father David wore on an high ſolemnity, and with what was worn by the greateſt men in the moſt ſuperb courts of the Eaſt, agrees with the other accounts that are given of him, particularly his making *ſilver* in Jeruſalem as ſtones, and *cedars* as thoſe trees that in the vale are remarkable for abundance, 1 Kings x. 27.

I leave it to the virtuoſi to determine what the other two words mean. Perhaps we ſhall not be very far diſtant from their future deciſions, if we ſhould ſuppoſe, that the word *ſheſh* means linen cloth, bleached to a *whiteneſs reſembling marble*, ſince the word ſometimes ſignifies marble; and that *bad* is a generic term, which ſignifies *vegetable* clothing of all kinds, in oppoſition to that made of materials taken from animals—ſheep, goats, or other living creatures. None of the words, I preſume, mean *hempen* cloth: that, I ſhould imagine, was as little known to the ancient Jewiſh writers, as the *nettle cloth* of Leipſic, or that made from *hop-binds* in Sweden are to us.

As for the word *ſadin*, which they have twice tranſlated fine linen, Prov. xxxi. 24, and Iſ. iii. 23, it evidently ſignifies a particular veſtment; and another word which they have alſo tranſlated fine linen, in Prov. vii. 16, is believed to ſignify a cord or thread, which, joined with the preceding word, ſhould ſeem to mean *beautifully ſtitched*: "With "ornaments have I ornamented my bed, "with *works* beautified with the thread of "of Ægypt." Words which, poſſibly, may be illuſtrated by the account d'Arvieux gives of the coverlets the Arab Princes make uſe of for their beds. "They have," he ſays, "coverlets of all ſorts: ſome are very "beautiful, ſtitched with gold and ſilk, *with* "*cotton*; others are of ſilk, with flowers of "gold and ſilver, &c[13]."

I would only add, in order to illuſtrate what may be ſuppoſed to be the meaning of the words *ſheſh* and *bad*, that the clothing of the common people of Ægypt is linen only, but dyed *blue* with indigo, according to Haſſelquiſt[14]. Such kind of linen may well be thought to be diſtinguiſhed, upon ſome occaſions, from that whitened like Holland; ſome of the Ægyptian linen alſo, if I do not miſremember, is ſtriped, blue and white: ſuch differences might make a generic word very requiſite.

[13] Voy. dans la Pal. p. 177. [14] P. 244, 245.

Observation XXI.

There is a paſſage in Deuteronomy xxi, about the ſenſe of which our tranſlators appear to have been extremely uncertain: tranſlating one clauſe of the twelfth verſe, "and pare her nails," in the text; and in in the margin giving the clauſe a quite *oppoſite* ſenſe, "ſuffer to grow." So that, according to them, the words ſignify, that the captived woman ſhould be obliged, in the caſe referred to by Moſes, to *pare* her nails, or *to ſuffer them to grow*, but they could not tell which of theſe two contradictory things the Jewiſh legiſlator required; and it ſhould ſeem the Jewiſh doctors are, in like manner, divided in their opinion on this ſubject [1].

To me it ſeems very plain, that it was not a management of affliction and mourning that was enjoined: ſuch an interpretation agrees not with the putting off the raiment of her captivity; but then I very much queſtion, whether the paring her nails takes in the whole of the intention of Moſes.

The precept of the law was, that ſhe ſhould *make her nails*: ſo the Hebrew words literally ſignify. *Making her nails* ſignify, making her nails neat, beautifying them, making them agreeable to the ſight, or ſomething of that ſort; dreſſing them is

[1] Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

the

the word our tranſlators have choſen, acacrding to the margin. The 2 Sam. xix. 24, which the critics have cited on this occaſion, plainly proves this: "Mephiboſheth, the "ſon of Saul, came down to meet the King, "and had neither *made* his feet, nor *made* "his beard, nor waſhed his clothes, from "the day the King departed, until the day "he came again in peace." It is the ſame word with that in the text, and our tranſlators have rendered it in one clauſe *dreſſed*, as in the margin of Deut. xxi, "dreſſed his "feet;" and in the other *trimmed*, "nor "trimmed his beard." *Making the feet* ſeems here to mean *waſhing the feet*, *paring their nails*[2], perhaps *anointing*, or otherwiſe *perfuming* them, as he was a Prince, ſee Luke vii. 46. As making his beard may mean *combing*, *curling*, *perfuming* it; every thing, in a word, that thoſe that were people of diſtinction, and in a ſtate of joy, were wont to do.

Making her nails undoubtedly means paring them; but it muſt mean too every thing elſe relating to them, that was wont to be done for the beautifying them, and rendering them agreeable. We have ſcarce any notion of any thing elſe but *paring* them; but the modern Eaſtern women have—they *ſtain them* with the leaves of an odoriferous plant,

[2] Sir J. Chardin, in his MS. note on this place, tells us, *that it is cuſtomary in the Eaſt to have as much care of the feet as of the hands; and that their barbers cut and adjuſt the nails with a proper inſtrument, becauſe they often go barefoot.*

which

which they call Al-henna, of a *red*, or, as others expreſs it, a *tawny ſaffron* colour. But it may be thought, that is only a *modern* mode of adorning their nails: Haſſelquiſt, however, aſſures us, it was an ancient Oriental practice [3]. "The Al-henna," he tells us, "grows in India, and in Upper and "Lower Ægypt, flowering from May to "Auguſt. The leaves are pulverized, and "made into a paſte with water: they bind "this paſte on the *nails* of their hands and "feet, and keep it on all night. This "gives them a deep yellow, which is great-"ly admired by the Eaſtern nations. The "colour laſts for three or four weeks, be-"fore there is occaſion to renew it. The "cuſtom is *ſo ancient* in Ægypt, that I have "ſeen the *nails of mummies* dyed in this "manner. The powder is exported in large "quantities yearly, and may be reckoned a "valuable commodity." It appears by this to be a very ancient practice; and ſince mummies were before the time of Moſes [4], this cuſtom of dying the nails might be as ancient too; though we do not ſuppoſe the mummies Haſſelquiſt ſaw, *with their nails thus coloured*, were ſo old as his time [5].

[3] P. 246. [4] Gen. 50. 2, 26. [5] The nails of the toes of the mummy inſpected at London in 1763, of which an account is publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions for the year 1764, ſeem to have been tinged after the ſame manner; for thoſe curious gentlemen obſerved that ſome of them retained a reddiſh hue, *as if they had been painted.*

If

If it was practiſed in Ægypt before the law was given, we may believe the Iſraelites adopted it, ſince it appears to be a moſt *univerſal* cuſtom now in the Eaſtern countries: Dr. Shaw obſerving that *all the African* ladies that can purchaſe it, make uſe of it, reckoning it a great beauty[6]; as we learn from Rauwolff, it appears alſo to the *Aſiatic* females[7]. I cannot but think it moſt probable then, that making the nails ſignifies *tinging* as well as *paring* them. *Paring alone*, one would imagine, too trifling a circumſtance to be intended here. No commentator, however, that I know of, has taken any notice of ornamenting the nails by *colouring* them.

As for *ſhaving the head*, which is joined with *making the nails*, it was a rite of cleanſing, as appears from Lev. xiv. 8, 9, and Numb. vi. 9; and uſed by thoſe who, after having been in an afflicted and ſqualid ſtate, appeared before perſons to whom they deſired to render themſelves acceptable, and who were alſo wont to change their raiment on the ſame occaſion, See Gen. xli. 14: but this is not the point I am conſidering under this Obſervation.]

XVII.

Observation XXII.

The *plenty* and *various agreeableneſſes* of the land of Ægypt attach its inhabitants ſo to it,

[6] P. 114. [7] P. 54.

that,

that, according to Maillet, there is no getting any of them out of their native country.

This, he thinks, ſufficiently appeared in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-nine, when he received an order from the court of France, to ſend three Copti children thither, to be brought up in that country, as ſome of other Eaſtern nations were. He uſed all his efforts, and all the ſtratagems the Roman Catholic miſſionaries could contrive; but in vain. His attempts, on the contrary, well-nigh produced a commotion. The endeavours of the Italian Fathers of the congregation de propaganda fide, to ſend five or ſix to Rome, in obedience to the orders of that congregation, were, he obſerves, as unſucceſsful. This he aſcribes to ſeveral reaſons, but above all to one peculiar to themſelves—the infinite attachment they have to their own country [1].

But though there is no ſuch thing as getting the Ægyptians out of their own country now, numbers of them anciently, we find, lived as ſervants in other lands. Hagar was an Ægyptian, Gen. xvi. 1; Jarha, who belonged to Sheſhan, was an Ægyptian, 1 Chron. ii. 34; that ſervant to an Amalekite, that conducted David and his troops to the company that had deſtroyed Ziklag, was an Ægyptian, 1 Sam. xxx. 11. I believe, it will not be eaſy to pick out, from

[1] Lett. 11. p. 136.

the

the Old Teſtament accounts, an equal number of ſervants of *other* countries that lived in foreign lands, mentioned there.

How different the views that Maillet and the Old Teſtament give us of the ſtate of the Ægyptians, as to reſidence in their native country! What is this difference owing to, a leſs ſtrong attachment to their country anciently, or the fate of war? To the laſt, no doubt of it: for the country was then extremely fruitful, as it is now [2], poſſeſſed the ſame delightful water of the Nile, the ſame exquiſite pleaſantneſs, and the ſame *peculiarities of pleaſure* it may be that it has done ſince; but *wars*, without queſtion, led many of it's inhabitants into this ſtate of ſervitude.

CHAP. X.

Miſcellaneous Obſervations.

Observation I.

PITTS ſays [1], the Algerines never take either apprentices or *hired ſervants*, but "ſuch as have occaſion for ſervants, do buy "ſlaves [2], and bring them up to their houſe-hold-

[2] Gen. 12. 10. [1] P. 68. [[2] Sir John Chardin obſerves, in his MS. note on Gen. 29. 24, *that none but very poor people marry a daughter, in the Eaſt, without giving*

" hold-work, as our *ſervant-maids* are here " in England; who, as ſoon as they have " done up all their work in the houſe, are " uſually allowed the liberty to go abroad, " and viſit their country-men, commonly " bearing each a child with them; and if " the child be a *boy*, it rides on the ſlave's " *ſhoulders*." Sandys makes a like remark, as to the manner of carrying children in the Eaſt, ſaying, that as we bear ours in our arms, they carry theirs aſtride on their ſhoulders [3].

Was the cuſtom anciently the reverſe of this? So it might be imagined from Iſ. xlix. 22: " They ſhall bring thy *ſons* in their " *arms*, and thy *daughters* ſhall be carried " upon their *ſhoulders*." Nevertheleſs, I am perſuaded this is not true; but if they anciently made a difference in the manner of carrying children, as the Algerines ſeem to do now, the ſame cuſtom obtained alſo then. Nor do theſe words of Iſaiah contradict this. The Algerine manner of carrying the *boys*, may be well enough expreſſed by " they " ſhall bring thy *ſons* in their *boſoms*," as the word is tranſlated in the margin, *their legs*

giving her a female ſlave for a chamber-maid; there being no hired ſervants there, as in Europe. He ſays much the ſame in another note on Tobit 10. 10. Agreeably to this we find Laban, upon marrying his daughters, gave each of them a female ſlave. So Solomon ſuppoſes they were *extremely* poor that had not a ſervant, Prov. 12. 9. An attention to this circumſtance is requiſite to enter into the ſtrength of that paſſage.]

[3] P. 54

hanging

hanging down in their boſoms; and if the Prophet deſigned to repreſent their *daughters* as carried in the way children uſually are with us, he might expreſs himſelf in the manner he doth, children ſo carried often looking over the *ſhoulder*, and *leaning their arms upon it*.

This obſervation of Pitts will enable us to form a judgment on Vitringa's comment on this paſſage, who is in general a very accurate writer. "Not," ſays he, "that they "were carried properly on the *ſhoulders*, which "would be very incommoding to the perſon "crrrying, and to thoſe that were carried: "but they are ſaid to be carried on the "ſhoulders, becauſe they are ſupported by "the arms which hang from the ſhoulders, "in which alſo their ſtrength lies." It is evident, from the practice at Algiers, that the *poſture in queſtion* is not ſo *incommoding* to a ſlave in the Levant, *as the reading this explanation would be*.

Observation II.

Theſe ſlaves, according to Pitts, do the work of *maid-ſervants*. The labour, enjoined the *Gibeonites*, was alſo what *females* were wont to perform, and do to this day.

Shaw mentions [1], the going out of the women in the evening to fetch *water*, as ſtill

[1] P. 241.

the

the cuſtom of the Arabs of Barbary; and cites Gen. xxiv. 11. to prove it was the cuſtom anciently; to which he might have added 1 Sam. ix. 11, John iv. 7. The author of the hiſtory of the Piratical States of Barbary aſſures us alſo, that *they* cut the fuel. "The care of the cattle," ſpeaking of the Arabs of the kingdom of Algiers, "belongs to the *women* and children; *they* "alſo provide food for the family, cut *fuel*, "fetch *water*, and, when their domeſtic af- "fairs allow them, tend their ſilk-worms [2]." D'Arvieux in like manner repreſents the *daughters* of the Turk-men of Palæſtina, as fetching *wood* as well as *water* [3].

As the *women* of theſe countries cut *fuel* now, as well as fetch *water*, we may believe they did ſo *formerly*, and that they are both *equally* ancient cuſtoms. This ſuppoſition is confirmed very much by Jer. vii. 18, and Lam. v. 13, which ſpeak of the childrens fetching *wood*—The *young* women.

The bitterneſs then of the doom of the Gibeonites, doth not ſeem to have conſiſted in the *laborioufneſs* of the ſervice enjoined them, which has been *commonly* underſtood to be the caſe; for it was uſual for the women and children to perform what was required of the Gibeonites; but its *degrading* them from the *characteriſtic employment* of *men*, that of bearing *arms*, and condemning them,

[2] P. 47. [3] Voy. dans la Pal. par la Roque, p. 230.

and their *poſterity for ever*, to the employment of *females*. The not receiving them as *allies* was bitter; the diſarming them who had been warriors, and condemning them to the employment of *females*, was worſe; but the *extending this degradation to their poſterity* bittereſt of all. It is no wonder, that in theſe circumſtances they are ſaid to have been curſed, Joſh. ix. 23.

Observation III.

The uſages of the Eaſt differ very much from thoſe of the Weſt, with relation to the more than kind treatment of their ſervants; but they perfectly agree with thoſe that are referred to in the Scriptures. How far theſe have been taken notice of in explaining paſſages of Holy Writ I do not know; but I believe the gathering up together, and preſenting them in one view to my reader, will be a *ſort of novelty*.

They marry their *ſlaves* frequently to their *daughters*, and that when they have no male iſſue, and thoſe daughters are what we call *great fortunes*. That Haſſan, of whom Maillet gives a long account in his eleventh letter, and who was Kiaia of the Aſaphs of Cairo, that is to ſay, the Colonel of four or five thouſand men who go under that name, was the ſlave of a predeceſſor in that office, the famous Kamel, and married his daughter: "for Kamel," ſays he, "*according to*

"*the*

" *the cuſtom of the country*, gave him one of " his daughters in marriage, and left him, at " his death, one part of the *great riches* he " had amaſſed together in the courſe of a " long and proſperous life [1]." What Sheſhan then did, was perhaps not ſo extraordinary as we may have imagined, but perfectly conformable to *old* Eaſtern cuſtoms, if not to the arrangements of Moſes [2]; at leaſt it is, we ſee, juſt the ſame with what is now practiſed: " Now Sheſhan had *no ſons*, but " *daughters*: and Sheſhan had a ſervant an " Ægyptian, whoſe name was Jarha, and " Sheſhan *gave his daughter to Jarha his* " *ſervant to wife*, and ſhe bare him Attai." 1 Chron. ii. 34, 35.

If they have no children at all, the rich people of Barbary purchaſe young ſlaves, educate them in their own *faith*, and ſometimes *adopt* them for their own children, according to the author of the Hiſtory of the Piratical States of that country [3]. Relations among us would think this a *cruel hardſhip*, would often pronounce it unjuſt; but the people of the Eaſt ſeem always to have had theſe ideas: " One born in mine houſe is " mine *heir*," ſaid Abraham [4], ſpeaking of a ſlave that he had, born of ſome female ſlave, though he had brother's children and

[1] Lett. 11. p. 118. [2] Num. 36. ſeems not to favour this practice. [3] P. 70, 71. [4] Gen. 15. 3.

grand-children, if not a brother, in Meſopotamia, Gen. xxii. 20-24.

Young ſlaves, under twelve years of age, according to the author of the Hiſtory of the Piratical States, are the only objects of their maſters *religious care*; and he contradicts the ſtories of their compelling Chriſtian ſlaves to turn Mohammedans; but as to theſe young ſlaves, he acknowleges that they value themſelves highly on making *ſuch* good Muſſulmen, and conſider it as a moſt meritorious act in the ſight of God[5]: and every one that is converſant with the affairs of the Levant, knows how *ſucceſsful* theſe cares prove; ſcarce any but what by this means have been fixed in their faith. Even where a maſter's religion *differs* from that which is eſtabliſhed in a country, this way of educating their ſlaves has a great effect upon them. Thus Maillet tells us, the Jews, as well as Chriſtians, are permitted in Ægypt to have black ſlaves, but not to carry them out of the country, leſt they ſhould oblige their ſlaves to change their religion; but notwithſtanding this precaution, he informs us, that the greateſt part of theſe blacks follow, though in ſecret, the religion of their maſters[6]. On the ſame principle—the efficacy of education, Abraham, who profeſſed a religion different from that of the people among whom he dwelt, was directed to circumciſe his *ſervants*, as

[5] P. 71. [6] Lett. 12. p. 175.

well

well as his *children*; and baptiſm was afterwards adminiſtered with the ſame latitude, and we have reaſon to think on the ſame principle.

In the ſame letter Maillet ſpeaks of the riſing of theſe ſlaves ſometimes to the higheſt poſts in the ſtate; and that there was an eunuch at Cairo, when he reſided there, who had made three *Beys*, three of the Princes of that country that is, from among his ſlaves; and he gives an account of another Bey, who had had at one time *five* or *ſix* of his ſlaves *Beys* like himſelf. What is more, the greateſt men of the Ottoman empire are well known to have been originally *ſlaves*, brought up in the ſeraglio[7]. This may appear very ſtrange to us Europeans, and more ſo to our *American ſettlers*. Our governments there have ſometimes received great ſervices from their ſlaves, but they never thought of any thing more than giving them their *freedom*, and ſome little *pecuniary gratifications*, and believed them amply repaid. Nevertheleſs, theſe facts are inconteſtable; and the moſt *incredible* accounts of Scripture relating to this Subject, ſuch as the advancement of Joſeph to be Viceroy of Ægypt, and Daniel, another Hebrew ſlave, to be a Chief Miniſter of State in Babylon, have nothing in them diſſonant from the modern uſages of the Eaſt. What is more than any thing men-

[7] Thevenot, part 1. p. 25.

tioned in Holy-Writ, the Mameluke *Kings* of Ægypt *themſelves* are well known to have been originally ſlaves, as amply appears in the Collections of Monſ. d'Herbelot.

Observation IV.

[Conſidered as ſlaves are in the Eaſt, they are ſometimes purchaſed at a *very low price*.

The Prophet Joel complains of the contemptuous cheapneſs in which the Iſraelites were held by thoſe that made them captives, ch. iii. 3, "They have caſt lots for my peo-" ple, and have given a boy *for an harlot*, and " ſold a girl *for wine, that they might drink*."

The illuſtration the MS. C. gives of this paſſage has ſomething painfully amuſing in it, and my readers will not, perhaps, be diſpleaſed with me for communicating it to them. *The Tartars, Turks, and Coſaques, ſell the children ſometimes as cheap which they take. Not only has this been done in Aſia, where examples of it are frequent; our Europe has ſeen ſuch deſolations. When the Tartars came into Poland, they carried off all they were able; this was in oppoſition to the King of Sweden, Guſtavus the Second. I went thither ſome years after. Many perſons of the court aſſured me that the Tartars, perceiving that they would no more redeem thoſe that they had carried off, ſold them for a crown, and that they had purchaſed them for that ſum. In Mingrelia they ſell them for proviſions and for wine: this is moſt true.*

How

How terrible theſe ravages—the tearing children from their parents, and ſelling theſe dear objects of parental affection for a crown a piece, for a little victuals, or a little wine, and ſeparating them from their parents for ever! How juſt the expreſſion of the divine diſpleaſure againſt ſuch contemptuous treatment of a people ſacred to Jehovah!

Observation V.

As there appear remains in the Eaſt of the moſt ancient way in which people were *ſhod*, ſo it ſhould ſeem the moſt magnificent modern coverings of the foot there are of great antiquity.

According to Rauwolff, the *Arabs* of the Deſert, when they "are not able to buy "*ſhoes*, take inſtead of them necks of *undreſſed* "ſkins, and put them about their feet with "the hair outwards, and ſo tie or lace them "up[1]." People could not be ſhod, I think, in a more ſimple manner than this; and conſequently we may believe it to be the moſt ancient way of all.

Not very remote from this is Sir J. Chardin's account in his MS, who, after deſcribing *ſandals* in a note on Acts xii. 8, adds, *Poor people of the Eaſt go ſhod after this manner*. How different the treatment of St. Peter's feet, from that of the *toes* of his imaginary ſucceſſors!

[1] P. 157.

Rich people in thoſe countries wear *ſock* and *ſlippers* of red or yellow Morocco. They are red, or yellow, according to their quality, if Thevenot's account be juſt [2]. And as *yellow* is the common colour [3], the *red* muſt be their moſt magnificent covering for the feet [4]. Agreeably to this, we find Biſhop Pococke making a preſent of a pair of *red ſhoes, ſuch as they wear*, with ſome other things, to the Great Sheik of Cous [5]; and in another place he mentions *red ſhoes*, as one ſpecies of goods he prepared for making preſents, when he deſigned going into Upper Ægypt [6].

Dying leather appears to have been in uſe in the time of Moſes [7]. And ſince what we tranſlate *badger's ſkins* are mentioned by the Prophet Ezekiel, as a moſt magnificent covering for the feet, ch. xvi. 10, and red Morocco leather ſeems to be underſtood to be ſuch now, I ſhould ſuppoſe *beautiful red leather* was what Ezekiel meant there, whether

[2] Part 1. p. 30. [3] D'Arvieux mentions *yellow* leather only, in his account of the ſocks, ſlippers, and boots of the Arabs. Voy. dans la Pal. chap. 16. [4] Unleſs we ſuppoſe Lady M. W. Montague's deſcription of her dreſs forms an exception, who tells us her ſhoes were of *white kid leather, embroidered with gold.* Lett. v. 2. p. 28. Whether this was a peculiarity, or uſed by other Ladies in the Eaſt now, I am not able to ſay: all other accounts which I have ſeen, ſo far as I at preſent remember, ſpeak of nothing uſed by the Eaſtern people more magnificent than *red Morocco ſhoes.* [5] Vol. 1. p. 90. [6] P. 68. [7] Exod. 25. 5, &c.

made

made of the ſkin of a badger, or of ſome other quadruped.

I do not recollect the having read any account in modern travellers of badgers found in Ægypt, or in the adjoining countries, from whence we might ſuppoſe their ſkins brought to Ægypt. Dr. Shaw, I remember, expreſſly tells us he could not hear of any found in Barbary [8]. Their ſkins are however ſometimes tanned in England; and a gentleman of conſiderable fortune in that way of buſineſs has informed me, *they uſe them for the upper and more pliable part of ſhoes, and, ſo far as he knows, for no other purpoſe; that this leather is not ſo liable, when expoſed to wet and dry, to harden and crack in the grain as ſome other kinds, and is more durable than any other leather of the ſame ſubſtance that we tan.* To which he *unexpectedly* added, *that the grain of the ſkin reſembles the Turkey leather uſed about books.*

It appears by an account of the proceſs for preparing red and yellow Morocco ſkins, communicated by an *Aſiatic* to the ſociety for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, and publiſhed in the firſt volume of Doſſie's Memoirs, that the ſkins they make uſe of are grained on a board prepared for that purpoſe, which I ſuppoſe muſt have been at firſt done, to make theſe ſkins reſemble the more *uncommon* ſkins which were higheſt in eſteem, and which *naturally* ap-

[8] P. 174.

peared

peared with ſuch a kind of grain. I cannot otherwiſe account for the invention.

This ſubſtitution of more common ſkins, for the more valuable ſkins of this other animal, ſeems to have been very ancient, ſince Moſes ſpeaks [9] of ram-ſkins dyed red, as thoſe which we tranſlate badger-ſkins, I preſume, alſo were; and theſe leſs valuable ſkins were ordered, I ſhould imagine, as it was not to be expected a ſufficient number of the other, to make the whole covering for the tabernacle, was to be found in the camp of Iſrael.

Whether the ſkin of the dubbah, or *hyæna*, is naturally grained like Turkey-leather, I am not able to ſay; but Dr. Shaw informs us that it is of the badger-kind, and that it inhabits thoſe countries [10]. But whatever ſkin Moſes refers to, it was, I am ready to perſuade myſelf, a kind that was naturally grained, and of which the red Morocco leather is an imitation.

Observation VI.

The *neceſſity* for waſhing the feet in the Eaſt has been attributed to their wearing *ſandals*; but it is very requiſite, according to Sir John Chardin [1], let the covering of the feet be of *what kind it will*.

Thoſe that travel in the hot countries of the Eaſt, he tells us, *ſuch as Arabia is, begin, at*

[9] Exod. 25. 5, &c. [10] P. 173, 174. [1] MS. vol. 6.

their arriving at the end of their journey, with pulling off the coverings of their feet. The ſweat, and the duſt, which penetrates all ſorts of coverings for the feet, produce a filth there, which excites a very troubleſome itching. And though the Eaſtern people are extremely careful to preſerve the body neat, it is more for refreſhment than cleanlineſs, that they waſh their feet at the cloſe of their journey.

According to d'Arvieux, the little yellow Morocco boots, worn by the Arabs, which are made very light, ſo as that they may walk in them afoot, and even run in them, are yet ſo tight as not to be penetrated by water[2]; but none of the Eaſtern coverings for the foot, it ſeems, can guard againſt the duſt; conſequently this cuſtom of waſhing the feet is not to be merely aſcribed to their uſe of ſandals: a circumſtance that has not, I think, been attended to, and which therefore claims a place in theſe papers.]

Observation VII. IV.

Dr. Shaw has given us an account, at conſiderable length, of the *dreſs* of the Mooriſh ladies[1]; there are ſome things however he has paſſed over in ſilence, which appear to me worth ſetting down; and as I have had no opportunity of introducing them before, I will give them a place here.

[2] Voy. dans la Pal. p. 209.] [1] P. 228.

The

The firſt thing I would take notice of, relating to this matter, is the *great coſtlineſs* of the Eaſtern female dreſs of perſons of diſtinction. Maillet tells us, that the dreſs of the Ægyptian ladies is much more rich and magnificent, than any thing of that kind among us. That it conſiſts of a quantity of pearls, precious ſtones, coſtly furrs, and other things of value. That their ſhifts *alone* come to ſix or ſeven piſtoles. In one word, that three young ladies of France, might be handſomely dreſſed for the ſame ſum that a *common habit* comes to in Ægypt [z].

Few people, I fancy, look upon the *coſtly array* of the Levant, mentioned by St. Paul, 1 Tim. ii. 9, in ſo ſtrong a light as this author has ſet it; though the Apoſtle doth mention pearls, as well as Maillet.

One would hardly have expected, that the vanity we generally aſcribe to the French, would have ſuffered one of that nation to allow this ſuperiority of Eaſtern dreſs, in point of *richneſs*, to that of his own country-women; but what is more, he ſeems to allow it to be better *fancied*. "Their appa-" rel has always ſomething grand and ma-" jeſtic," (he had been ſpeaking of two kinds of it in uſe there, one the Ægyptian properly ſpeaking, the other the Turkiſh, the women making uſe of the one, or the other, as beſt ſuited their views, and making their choice with great judgment,) "their head-

[z] Lett. 11. p. 112.

" dreſs

"dress is noble and enchanting; in a word, "there is nothing more free and engaging, "than the slight dress in which they often "appear [3]."

This is not the only author of *that country*, I believe, that has discovered how deeply he has been struck with the habits of the Levant. If I do not misremember, Tournefort talks in something of the same strain, when he is describing the dress of the ladies in some of the islands of the Archipelago. If we cannot trust our own invention, and must *servilely* copy after other nations, would it not be right for the British ladies, rather to fetch their models from the East than from Paris? It certainly would, *if any deference is due in these matters to the judgment of the French.*

Observation VIII. V.

There is one particular the Apostle mentions in this passage, which requires a distinct consideration—the *plaiting the hair*, which Dr. Shaw, from 1 Pet. iii. 3, roundly supposes, is disapproved of in the Scriptures [1]; but which I cannot believe the Apostle designed absolutely to prohibit, though I am disposed to pay great deference to the opinion of the Doctor.

It is a way of adorning themselves that was practised in the East anciently, and still continues to be the common usage of those

[3] P. 113. [1] P. 228.

countries.

countries. Shaw ſpeaks of it as uſed now in Barbary, and ſays the Mooriſh ladies *all* affect this way of diſpoſing of their hair. The editor of the Ruins of Palmyra found that it anciently obtained there, for they diſcovered, with great ſurprize, Mummies in the Palmyrene ſepulchres embalmed after the ancient Ægyptian manner, by which means the bodies were in ſuch a ſtate of preſervation, that among other fragments they carried off with them, was the *hair of a female, plaited* exactly after the manner *commonly* uſed by the Arabian women *at this time* [2]. It is now then univerſally uſed among the Mooriſh women; it is the Arab way of adorning themſelves; and it ſeems to have been as common anciently, from what was found in the ſepulchres of Palmyra, and from the way in which St. Peter and St. Paul [3] have mentioned this circumſtance. It was a *general* way of ornamenting themſelves, and at the ſame time, one would think, as little contradictory to the laws of *decency and frugality*, as any thing belonging to female adorning, and therefore as little liable to an apoſtolic prohibition. Would not the prohibition then, the *abſolute* prohibition, of a practice ſo general, and at the ſame time ſo innocent, ſavour more of the ſpirit of ſuperſtition than of an Apoſtle?

[2] P. 22, 23. [3] 1 Tim. 2. 9.

The

The paſſage in St. Peter, which the Doctor cites, will admit an eaſy interpretation—that the female diſciples of Chriſt ſhould make their adorning conſiſt in a meek and quiet ſpirit, which is in the ſight of God of great value, *rather* than in *plaiting the hair*, wearing of gold, or putting on any of the ornaments of Eaſtern dreſs: for there is no *abſolute* prohibition of theſe external ornaments. But the other paſſage, that of St. Paul, *ſeems* to be otherwiſe, though interpreters are willing to underſtand it in the ſame ſenſe. "I *will* therefore that men pray "every where, lifting up holy hands, with-"out wrath and doubting. In *like manner*, "that women adorn themſelves *not* "with *broidered hair*, or gold, or pearls, or "coſtly array." The *abſurdity* of ſuppoſing the Apoſtle abſolutely forbad them the plaiting their hair, and wearing of gold, not only the Mooriſh beautiful Sarmah[4], but the leaſt particle of gold in any form whatſoever[5], has forced them into this, but they have not ſhewn, ſo ſatisfactorily as could have been wiſhed, how the wearing theſe things is conſiſtent with the words of the Apoſtle.

The ſolution of the difficulty muſt ariſe, I apprehend, from the applying the words,

[4] See Shaw, p. 229. [5] Conſequences that Dr. Shaw certainly did not attend to, when he ſuppoſed the Scriptures diſapproved this braiding of the hair. Had he been the Apoſtle of the Palmyrenes, he would, without doubt, have thought more maturely about it.

"In

"In like manner also," not to the "I will," of the Apostle—*In like manner I will that women adorn not themselves with broidered hair*, &c; but to the latter part of the verse, that is, to *the mens praying without wrath and disputing*, as the word signifies, and as it is translated Phil. ii. 14. St. Paul charging them, I apprehend, not to have any anger or dispute, about the *honour* of being placed in the *chief seats* in their religious assemblies [4]; in like manner he willed and enjoined, that the women should behave there so as not to occasion wrath and disputing, not adorning themselves, so as to *vye* with each other *in dress*, or distingnishing themselves by a *pert asking of questions*, but with great humility, learning in silence, and dressing themselves as the most moderate people of their rank were wont to do, making good works their glory.

VI. OBSERVATION IX.

It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to give a sure explanation of all the female ornaments *mentioned in the third of Isaiah*. The present dress of the Eastern ladies will not perfectly determine it: we cannot tell what changes have happened; and some of them are equivocal.

Rauwolff, in particular, tells us that the Arab women, whom he saw in his going

[4] James 2. 1—4. Matt. 23. 6.

down the Euphrates, wore rings about their legs and hands, and ſometimes a good many together, which in their ſtepping ſlipped up and down, and ſo made a great noiſe [5]. One might have imagined, theſe were the tinkling ornaments mentioned by the Prophet; but Pitts, obſerving that the women of pleaſure at Cairo wore their hair in treſſes behind, reaching down to their very heels, with little bells, or ſome ſuch things, at the end, which ſwung againſt their heels, and made a tinkling ſound as they went, was naturally enough led to think of this paſſage, and to imagine that Iſaiah might refer to them [6]. Some of them then are indeterminate, and their deſcriptions *equivocal*.

Every part, however, of the 24th verſe is not equally uncertain: and Maillet's obſervation, *That the Ægyptian women carry their delicacy ſo far, that, to prevent ſweat, and the contracting* ill ſmells *thereby, they wear no-*

[5] P. 157. [Sir J. Chardin's account in one of his manuſcripts differs a little: he ſuppoſes they have actually little bells faſtened to thoſe rings which they wear about their legs, and which make a tinkling ſound. *In Perſia*, he ſays, *and in Arabia, and in very hot countries where they go in common without ſtockings, (and they go ſo in the Indies,) and only in ſhoes, they wear rings about their ancles, which are* full of little bells. *Children and young girls take a particular pleaſure in giving them motion: with this view they walk quick.* The tinkling ſound of little bells could not be thought meanly of among the Iſraelitiſh women, whether they were in fact uſed by them, or not, ſince little bells were faſtened to a part of the dreſs of the High-Prieſt of God himſelf.] [6] P. 99, 100.

thing in their houſes, and often in the ſtreets, but their ſhifts and a pair of linen drawers; beſides which care, none uſe baths, odoriferous waters, and perfumes, *more frequently than they do, or time the application of theſe things better*[7], explains with the utmoſt clearneſs the firſt clauſe, "Inſtead of *ſweet ſmell*, there "ſhall be *ſtink*." The fatigues they ſhall undergo, ſhall produce copious ſweats, and they ſhall have no means to remove their diſagreeable effects: for though Maillet is ſpeaking of Ægyptian women, and the Prophet of Iſraelitiſh, the methods of preſerving neatneſs, and rendering themſelves agreeable, were, without doubt, in general much the ſame.

Vitringa[8] indeed explains this clauſe of a *medicinal* balſam, that was of an *healing* nature, inſtead of which he ſuppoſes the Prophet threatens they ſhould labour under a *corruption* of the fleſh; but when my reader conſiders that Iſaiah is not ſpeaking of the *precious drugs* they were able to command, in their proſperous ſtate, to cure diſeaſes, but of their *arts of allurement*, he will find, I believe, no great difficulty in determining which is the moſt natural explanation.

Women, in the deep mourning of captivity, anciently *ſhaved* off their hair, Deut. xxi. 12, 13.[9] At leaſt in diſtreſs it was diſhevelled: in which manner the weep-

[7] Lett. 11. p. 112. [8] In loc. [9] According to ſome interpreters. See Ainſworth's Commentary on the paſſage.

ing penitent ſeems to have preſented herſelf unto our Lord, Luke vii. 38, 44. Something like this ſtill obtains among the Eaſtern women: in Ægypt, in particular, Maillet tells us, that the women that attend a corpſe to the grave, generally have their hair hanging looſe about their ears [10]. On the contrary, we find by Dr. Shaw, when they would adorn themſelves, they collect their hair into one lock, binding and plaiting it with ribbands; and if nature has been leſs liberal to them, they ſupply the defect by art, and interweave foreign hair [11]. As the firſt obſervations will account for the *baldneſs* Iſaiah aſcribes to the *captived* daughters of Zion; ſo the laſt will explain, I imagine, their contrary appearance in the days of their proſperity, which our tranſlator of this paſſage renders *well-ſet hair*; but the original word ſignifies ſomething that is *ſolid* or *heavy*, and therefore muſt here ſignify *hair made heavy* or *ſolid*, which is now done by interweaving it with *ribbands* and *foreign hair*.

But whether this be allowed or not, the word, when applied to the Cherubs over the Mercy-ſeat, and to the Candleſtick in the Tabernacle, apparently ſignifies, as Oleaſter underſtands it [12], heavy, or ſolid, not overlaid with gold that is, but of ſolid gold, and perhaps not hollowed in the leaſt. And I

[10] Lett. 10. p. 89. [11] P. 228, 229. [12] Vide Poli Syn. in Exod. 25. 18.

am at a loſs to account for it, I confeſs, how it ſhould come to be tranſlated *beaten gold*, as if they were to be formed by the hammer alone into the preſcribed ſhape, in an age that underſtood the art of making images of metal by *moulds*.

It may not be amiſs to add, that it is another Hebrew word that is tranſlated *beaten*, 1 Kings x. 16, 2 Chron. ix. 15, where our verſion ſpeaks of targets and ſhields of beaten gold.

As to the thought of Vitringa, who ſuppoſed it refers to the powdering their hair with *gold-duſt*, I cannot help looking upon it to be a little extravagant. The practice of ſome of the moſt *expenſive* of the *Roman Emperors*, can hardly be admitted to be a proper illuſtration of *Eaſtern* finery, and eſpecially of the manner in which *private* perſons, of a kingdom not very *opulent*, adorned themſelves.

Observation X.

[I began the laſt Obſervation with taking notice how difficult it muſt be, if not impoſſible, to determine the ſeveral particulars of the finery of old of the Eaſtern Ladies: Sir J. Chardin, however, ſeems to have determined one point about which commentators have been very dubious, and that is, that *noſe-jewels* are much more probably referred to in ſome of the ſacred writings, than *jewels for the forehead*.

The

The Cambridge Concordance marks out only one place in which noſe-jewels are *expreſſly* mentioned, which is Iſ. iii. 21.

How it came to be tranſlated *noſe-jewel* there I do not know, ſince our tranſlators ſeem carefully to have avoided, elſewhere, the exciting the idea of an ornament worn in the noſe: thus they have rendered Ezek. xvi. 12, "And I put a jewel on thy *forehead*," inſtead of on thy noſe; and Gen. xxiv. 47, "I put the ear-ring upon her face," inſtead of, I put the ring on her noſe. In the twenty-ſecond verſe they had rendered it ear-ring, but, apprehenſive that might be wrong, they tranſlate it in the margin, "jewel for the forehead."

Nezems (for the Hebrew word is Nezem) were certainly worn in the *ears*, as appears from Gen. xxxv. 4, Exod. xxxii. 2, 3; they were alſo worn upon the face, either *the noſe*, or *elſewhere*. By being worn in the ears, one would imagine them to have been *rings*, or ſomething of that kind; if they were, they do not ſeem naturally applicable to any part of the face, but the *noſtril*: this however is ſo remote from the imagination of males as well as females in Europe, that the learned are diſpoſed to imagine the *nezem*, when not worn in the *ear*, was worn ſomehow on the *forehead*, and perhaps hung down over the *noſe*. "A golden "ear-ring, or rather, (as the margin hath "it) a jewel for the forehead," ſays Biſhop

Patrick on Gen. xxiv. 22. — "For ſuch or-
"naments were uſed in thoſe times and
"countries, *hanging down between the eye-*
"*brows, over the noſe.*"

Let us now ſee what the notions of the Eaſt are, of which Sir J. Chardin has given a large account in vol. 6. of his MSS. *The import of the Vulgar Latin tranſlation* (ſays this gentleman) *is, I have put ear-rings upon her to adorn her face. The modern Bibles, ſuch as that of Diodati and others, tranſlate it, (conformably to the Arabic and Perſian verſions,) I put the ring upon her noſe. It is the cuſtom,* in almoſt all the Eaſt, *for the women to wear rings* in their noſes, in the left [1] noſtril, *which is bored low down in the middle. Theſe rings are of gold* [2], *and have commonly two pearls and one ruby between, placed in the ring. I never ſaw a girl, or young woman, in Arabia* [3], *or in all Perſia, who did not wear a ring after this manner in her noſtril. It is without doubt of ſuch a ring that we are to underſtand what is ſaid in this verſe* [4], *and not of thoſe Diodorus ſpeaks of, and which he ſays the women attached to their foreheads, and let them hang down upon*

[1] Sir Thomas Roe's Chaplain gives the ſame account, of it's being the *left* noſtril in which the noſe-jewels are worn in the Eaſt-Indies, p. 412. [2] *Made*, he tells us, in the margin, *of gold-wire, a little thicker than that of the ear-rings worn in France.* [3] It is to be obſerved this writer uſes the name Arabia in a very large ſenſe, comprehending in it, at leaſt ſometimes, Judæa, beſides other countries not uſually included in that term. [4] Gen. 24. 47.

their

their noſes. I have never ſeen or heard ſpeak of any ſuch thing in all Aſia. *The women of condition there, indeed, wear jewels on their foreheads, but it is a crotchet like thoſe worn in France in the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, to which they hung on three or five bobs; but theſe jewels do not deſcend lower than the forehead. I have many times ſeen at Babylon, and in the neighbouring countries, women with their ornaments, and have always ſeen theſe rings in their noſtrils. I have ſeen ſome of them with pearls from . . . to twenty-four grains, among the jewels of the greateſt Princeſſes of Perſia; but nothing like the rings mentioned by Diodorus. We ought alſo to underſtand Iſ. iii. 21, and Ezek. xvi. 12, of theſe noſe-jewels; and to look upon this cuſtom of boring the noſtrils of the women as one of the* moſt ancient *in the world.*

The learned and ingenious Mr. Lowth, in his Commentary on Iſaiah [5], appears to be of a different opinion from Biſhop Patrick. He ſuppoſes the word there rendered noſe-jewels *might* be tranſlated jewels for the face or forehead, but that the ſame phraſe is uſed Prov. xi. 22, *where it certainly ſignifies a noſe-jewel*; and then cites St. Auſtin, to prove that it was the cuſtom of the women in Mauritania to hang jewels in the noſe; and Harris's Collection of Travels, to aſſure us the ſame cuſtom is ſtill obſerved in Perſia and Arabia, and other countries.

[5] Ch. 3. 21.

This is very ſenſible: the mind, notwithſtanding, may have been held in ſuſpenſe between theſe two ſentiments; but the authority of Sir J. Chardin determines it at once, as far as ſuch a thing can be determined: he every where ſaw *noſe-jewels*, never *rings for the forehead*, or any thing *like them*.

He has given us the ſatisfaction of knowing what they now commonly are—a ring of gold, with a ruby between two pearls. He has ſhewn us how it is worn upon the noſe—it is done by piercing the noſtril. And he has taught us why a *ſingle* ornament of this kind is ſpoken of, when there are *two noſtrils*, for he informs us that they only wear it in *one*, and that is the *left* noſtril [6].

The authority of Sir J. Chardin is the more deciſive, as he had large concerns in the jewel way, and therefore was more led to obſerve matters of this kind than other travellers. There will remain, I imagine, after this, no doubt of the nature of the

[6] Dr. Ruſſell deſcribes the women of ſome of the villages about Aleppo, and all the Arabs and Chinganas, (a ſort of gypſies,) as wearing a *large* ring of ſilver or gold, through the external cartilage of their right noſtril, p. 104. Only in *one* noſtril then, though, according to him, the *right*. Egmont and Heyman, in like manner, deſcribe this ring as worn by the Ægyptian women in their *right* noſtril; and ſay it is a *ſmall* one, vol. 2. p. 85. Whether it is worn in the *left* noſtril in ſome places of the Eaſt, and in the *right* in others; or whether there is ſome inaccuracy in the obſervers; I am not able to ſay: happily it is of no importance. Inſtead of a ruby, it was a piece of coral, which theſe laſt-mentioned travellers ſaw uſed in the noſe-jewels of Ægypt.

jewel

jewel of half a ſhekel given to Rebecca, or what we are to underſtand by thoſe paſſages of Iſaiah, Ezekiel, and the Proverbs, which have been mentioned under this Obſervation. Other writers have mentioned this ornament, but none ſo determinately, or with ſuch exact deſcription, as Sir John.

Observation XI.

There are two words uſed in the Scriptures which apparently ſignify [1] ear-rings, *nezem* and *gnagil*; and Sir J. Chardin obſerved two ſorts of ear-rings worn at this time in the Eaſt, whoſe account, therefore, may furniſh us with ſome idea what theſe different words *might* mean, perhaps what they actually *do* mean.

Some of the Eaſtern ear-rings, he tells us [2], *are ſmall, and go ſo cloſe to the ear, as that there is no vacuity between them; others are ſo large that you may put the foreſinger between, adorned with a ruby and a pearl on each ſide of it, ſtrung on the ring. The women wear ear-rings and pendants of divers ſorts; and I have ſeen ſome, the diameter of whoſe round was four fingers, and almoſt two fingers thick, made of ſeveral kinds of metals, wood, and horn, according to the quality of people. There is nothing more diſagreeable to the eyes of thoſe that are unaccuſtomed to the ſight; for theſe pendants,*

[1] Both are expreſsly deſcribed as ornaments belonging to the ear, the firſt in Exod. 32. 2, and the ſecond Ezek. 16. 12. [2] MS. vol. 6. Gen. 35. 4.

by

by their weight, widen ſo extremely the hole of the ear, that one might put in two fingers, and ſtretch it more, than one that never ſaw it would imagine. I have ſeen ſome of theſe ear-rings with figures upon them, and ſtrange characters, which, I believe, may be taliſmans, or charms, or perhaps nothing but the amuſement of old women. The Indians ſay they are preſervatives againſt enchantments. Perhaps the ear-rings of Jacob's family were of this kind.

This paragraph not only gives us reaſon to think, the nezems of antiquity were thoſe ſmall rings worn in the ear and the noſtril, and the gnagils the larger and more ſhewy rings, with pendants, worn only in the ear; but it gives us an Eaſtern *probable* explanation, what kind of ear-rings they were that Jacob buried with the ſtrange gods of his family, Gen. xxxv. 4.

It ſerves alſo to make the tranſlation of a third word, which is rendered ear-rings, Iſ. iii. 20, very probable: for though there is not any paſſage to be found, I believe, which deſcribes them as put upon or into the ears, yet the word apparently ſignifies an ornament that was ſuppoſed to have ſome taliſmanic power; and ſome of the Indian ear-rings are now ſuppoſed to be endowed with a like virtue. And though Jacob ſeems to have buried ſuch ear-rings as idolatrous, there is no reaſon to believe his female deſcendants, threatened by the Prophet Iſaiah, were equally cautious.

OBSERVATION XII.

Several writers take notice of the curious wrought *handkerchiefs* of the Eaſt, which, it ſeems, are uſed by the men as well as women there: they might be in uſe too anciently among the Jews, but I am perſuaded the *paſhil* of Judah, mentioned Gen. xxxviii. 18, does not mean ſuch an *handkerchief*.

Yet Sir J. Chardin ſuppoſes this in the ſixth MS. volume; and as his account is curious, though improperly applied I apprehend, I will here ſet down the ſubſtance of it. After having obſerved, that it is the cuſtom of the Eaſt to wear their ſeals in rings on their fingers, which is ſufficiently well known, he adds, *It is alſo the cuſtom almoſt every where to carry a ſtaff in their hand; the mode of wrought handkerchiefs is alſo general in Arabia, in Syria, in Palæſtine, and generally in all the Turkiſh empire. They are wrought with a needle, and it is the amuſement of the fair ſex there, as among us, the making tapeſtry and lace. The young women make them for their fathers, their brothers, and by way of preparation before-hand for their ſpouſes, beſtowing them as favours on their lovers. They have them almoſt conſtantly in their hands in thoſe warm countries, to wipe off ſweat. I am perſuaded that Judah alſo had his in his hand; and that Tamar, ſeeing it to be ſingular as to its work, as well as the ſtaff, demanded them of Judah for her hire, as*

well

well as the ring, as appears by ver. 25. One may underſtand then the words "in thine hand" not only as relative to the ſtaff, but alſo to the handkerchief and the ring, ſince it is evident Judah had them all in his hand.

Lady M. W. Montague ſpeaks of her being preſented with embroidered handkerchiefs, by great Turkiſh Ladies: they are preſented to men alſo, according to Sir J. Chardin, and uſed for wiping off ſweat. *Such* handkerchiefs are not adorned, I imagine, with flowers of various colours, wrought with ſilk and gold and ſilver thread, which, I think, is what is commonly meant by the term embroidered, but wrought only with thread or cotton, as being much the moſt proper for being applied to the face, as well as for the imbibing ſweat.

Sir John is not the only perſon that has ſuppoſed an handkerchief is meant here; but I know not how to adopt the ſentiment. Not to ſay that the word doth not appear in that catalogue of female ornaments which is given us in the third of Iſaiah, where, ſurely, the word ſignifying handkerchiefs muſt appear, if they were in half the requeſt among the Iſraelitiſh Ladies, that they are now in among the Eaſtern people; I would ſay this Gentleman's own account is very unfavourable to ſuch a ſuppoſition, ſince he ſuppoſes they are in *continual want* of an handkerchief to wipe away the ſweat, and have them almoſt perpetually in their hands for that purpoſe:

purpoſe. Would Tamar have demanded a thing which was wanted almoſt every minute? The things ſhe demanded were doubtleſs of ſome value, and ſuch as would determine who the owner was; not ſuch as he could not be well without till the kid was brought.

I cannot however think it was a bracelet, according to our verſion. The word never ſignifies any thing like that in other places where it occurs; and other terms are uſed for the ornament worn on the arm and hand, and which ſignify what we call bracelets, or ſomething like them. What juſt foundation can there be for ſuch a tranſlation then?

Setting myſelf upon this to think what could be well ſpared by Judah; anſwer the general meaning of the word, which ſignifies a ribband, a lace, ſomething twiſted, &c; and was ſufficiently particular to prove him the father of the child; I could think of nothing more likely than the fillet or wreath worn about his head: which Dr. Shaw tells us is all that many of the Arabs wear at this day about their heads; while the Moors and Turks, and ſome of the principal Arabs, wear a ſmall hemiſpherical cap of ſcarlet cloth, with a long narrow web of linen, ſilk, or muſlin, folded round the bottom of theſe caps [1]. Judah could very well ſpare ſuch a trifling covering to his head as a very ſmall wreath; and being the ſon of the head of a conſiderable clan of the people that lived in

[1] P. 226.

tents,

tents, it is to be ſuppoſed it was much more ornamented than what were commonly worn.

This occurred to my mind upon reading Dr. Shaw upon their dreſs, without finding this interpretation in any author: but it is no new thought as I perceived afterwards, for I had the pleaſure to find Arias Montanus tranſlated the word in like manner *tænia*, which ſignifies a wreath; and ſome other authors alſo. But what I have been ſaying may be of ſome ſervice to aſſiſt in forming a judgement what is moſt probably the meaning of the word.

Observation XIII.

The Eaſtern Ladies are remarkable for the length, and the great number of the treſſes of their hair: the men there, on the contrary, wear very little hair on their heads now, but they do not ſeem always to have done ſo.

That the Eaſtern women now are remarkable for the quantity of the hair of their heads, and their pride in adorning it, appears from the quotation from Dr. Shaw under a preceding Obſervation. Lady Mary Wortley Montague abundantly confirms it: their "hair hangs at full length behind," ſhe tells us, "divided into treſſes, braided with "pearl or ribbon, which is always in great "quantity. I never ſaw in my life ſo many "fine heads of hair. In one Lady's I have "counted

" counted an hundred and ten of the treſſes, " all natural; but it muſt be owned that " every kind of beauty is more common " here than with us[1]."

The men there, on the contrary, ſhave all the hair off their heads, excepting one lock; and thoſe that wear their hair are thought effeminate. I have met with both theſe particulars in Sir J. Chardin's MS. As to the laſt, he ſays in his note on 1 Cor. xi. 14, that what the Apoſtle mentions there is *the cuſtom of the Eaſt: the men are ſhaved, the women nouriſh their hair with great fondneſs*[2], *which they lengthen by treſſes and tufts of ſilk down to the heels. The young men who wear their hair in the Eaſt, are looked upon as effeminate and infamous.*

It appears from this paſſage of the Corinthians, that in the days of St. Paul the women wore their hair *long*, the men *ſhort*, and that the Apoſtle thought this a natural diſtinction. It doth not however appear it was always thought ſo, or, at leaſt, that the wearing long hair by the men was thought *infamous*, ſince it was eſteemed a beauty in Abſalom, 2 Sam. xiv. 26.

That paſſage is curious, and requires ſome attention, as being attended with ſome difficulties; and, I am afraid, ſomewhat improperly explained.

[1] Vol. 2. p. 31.

[2] Amoureuſement is the word he makes uſe of.

The

The *weight* of the hair, which ſeems to be enormouſly great, is the firſt thing that occurs to the mind. Two hundred ſhekels, at two hundred and nineteen grains each, make forty-three thouſand and eight hundred grains. This is rather more than one hundred ounces avoirdupois, for four hundred and thirty-ſeven grains and an half are equal to ſuch an ounce. It is a very good Engliſh head of hair, I am told, that weighs five ounces: if Abſalom's then weighed one hundred ounces, it was very extraordinary. Some very learned men, I think, have believed a royal ſhekel was but half the weight of the ſacred ſhekel: be it ſo; yet fifty ounces, ten times the weight of a good Britiſh head of hair, ſeems to be too great an allowance. To ſuppoſe, as ſome have done, that adventitious matters, united with the hair, are to be taken in to make up the weight, ſeems to me not a little idle: what proof would this have been of his poſſeſſing an extraordinary fine head of hair, ſince it would be poſſible to attach to the hair of a man *half-bald*, ſubſtances that ſhould weigh one hundred ounces? Commentators then ſhould by no means talk of the *oil*, the *fragrant ſubſtances*, the *gold-duſt*, with which they ſuppoſe the hair might be powdered, as making up this weight; they might as well have added *ornaments of gold*, *ribbands*, (or what anſwered them) *artificial treſſes* of hair, and all the matters that are now in different

methods faſtened to the hair: but would not this have been ridiculous? It is more reaſonable to ſay, the preſent reading may be faulty, as in other caſes there have frequently been miſtakes in numbers; or that we are not ſure what number of grains two hundred ſhekels, after the King's weight, was equal to; than to attempt to remove the difficulty by ſuch an incompetent method. It was an uncommonly fine head of hair, of very unuſual weight; which is all that we know *with certainty* about it.

The *ſhaving off all this hair*, for ſo the original word ſignifies, is a ſecond thing that ſeems very ſtrange. It was this thought, I ſhould imagine, that led our tranſlators to render the word by the Engliſh term polled, or cut ſhort: for it ſeems very unaccountable, that a prince that prided himſelf ſo much in the quantity of his hair, ſhould annually ſhave it off quite cloſe; and for what purpoſe? would not the ſhortening of it have relieved him from it's exceſſive weight? not to ſay, that the hair of *one* year's growth can, in the common courſe of things, be of no great length, or weigh very much. The word elſewhere ſignifies to ſhave off all the hair; is oppoſed to polling, or trimming the hair a little by ſhortening it; and was neceſſary in order to gain the knowledge of the true weight of the hair.

Mourners ſhaved themſelves, Job i. 20; and *thoſe that had been in a ſtate of bitterneſs*

when they preſented themſelves before kings, as appears from what is related of Joſeph, Gen. xli. 14; if then "from the end of "days," which is the original expreſſion, may be underſtood to mean *at the end of the time of his returning to his own houſe, and not ſeeing the king's face*, inſtead of *at the end of the year*, then the ſhaving himſelf may be thought to expreſs one ſingle action, and to deſcribe, in part, the manner in which he preſented himſelf before the king. This would make the prophetic account very natural.

But then the word tranſlated *heavy* muſt be underſtood in another ſenſe, a ſenſe in which it is ſometimes uſed, (if we have no regard to the Maſoretic points,) namely, as ſignifying *glory*, or *honour*, or ſomething of that ſort [3]. And ſo the general meaning of the paſſage will be, *And when he ſhaved his head (and it was in the end of the days*, of the days of his diſgrace that is, *at the time in which he was to ſhave, becauſe it was a glory upon him,) and he ſhaved himſelf, and weighed the hair of his head, two hundred ſhekels after the king's weight.*

But doth not St. Paul ſuppoſe, that nature teaches us, that if a man hath long hair, it is *ſhame* unto him, 1 Cor. xi. 14? He doth certainly; Abſalom's hair however is evidently ſpoken of in the book of Samuel, as what was thought to be part of his beau-

[3] See in particular Prov. 26. 1.

ty,

ty, 2 Sam. xiv. 25: whether it was that they had different notions on this point in the age of David; or that they thought it rather *effeminate*, but however *a beauty*.

Observation XIV.

The Oriental women are *kept at home*, much more than wives are with us, on the account of jealouſy.

Dr. Ruſſell informs us, that "the Turks "of Aleppo, being *very jealous*, keep their "women as much at home as they can; ſo "that it is but ſeldom they are allowed to "viſit each other. Neceſſity however ob-"ligeth the huſband to ſuffer them to go "often to the bagnio; and *Mondays and* "*Thurſdays* are a ſort of licenſed days for "them to viſit the tombs of their deceaſed "relations; which furniſhing them with an "opportunity of walking abroad in the gar-"dens or fields [1], they have ſo contrived, "that almoſt every Thurſday in the Spring "bears the name of ſome particular Sheih [2], "whoſe tomb they muſt viſit on that day. "By this means the greateſt part of the "Turkiſh women of the city get abroad to "breathe the freſh air at ſuch ſeaſons, un-"leſs confined (as is not uncommon) to "their houſes *by order of the Baſhaw*, and ſo "deprived even of that little freedom which

[1] Their cœmeteries and their gardens are out of their cities, at leaſt in common. [2] Or Saint, commonly expreſſed by the word *Sheik*.

" cuſtom had procured them from their huſ-
" bands [3]." And in the next paragraph he tells us, that " though neceſſity obliges " many of the inferior people to truſt their " wives out of doors, yet ſome are locked " up till the huſbands return."

Here we ſee great confinement, and the moſt innocent amuſements, ſuch as walking to the gardens, frequently forbidden; and this when *devotion itſelf* is united with pleaſure, or profeſſed to be united, in theſe excurſions.

The prohibitions of the Baſhaws are deſigned, or pretended to be deſigned at leaſt, without doubt, to prevent the bad effects, in reſpect to the chaſtity of the fair ſex, which thoſe liberties of going abroad might be ſuppoſed to draw after them. For the ſame reaſon we may believe, St. Paul joins the being *chaſte and keepers at home* together, in his Epiſtle to Titus [4], where he directs that Evangeliſt, to engage the elder Chriſtian women, to teach the young women " to be " diſcreet, *chaſte, keepers at home*," &c. Titus ſeems to have been then in *Crete*, and the Apoſtle, with ſomething really of the ſolicitude a modern Baſhaw affects, appears to have given this direction to Titus.

I do not ſuppoſe the words of St. Paul, bind European ladies to that *ſevere* retirement and keeping at home, that prudence requires an Eaſtern female Chriſtian to ob-

[3] P. 113, 114. [4] Titus 2. 5.

ſerve,

ſerve, and which St. Paul might intend with reſpect to thoſe of Crete; but certainly the *ſpirit* of that injunction requires them to avoid every needleſs quitting their homes, that may excite the jealouſy of an huſband, or the ſuſpicions of the world: whether every Britiſh female, that calls herſelf a Chriſtian, attends either to the letter or the ſpirit of this order, is another point; that they *ought* to conſider themſelves under an obligation to preſerve it's *ſpirit and intention*, cannot be doubted.

Observation XV.

Several authors, and Lady M. W. Montague in particular [1], have taken notice of the cuſtom, that has obtained from time immemorial among the *Eaſtern women*, of *tinging the eyes* with a powder, which, at a diſtance, or by candle-light, adds very much to the *blackneſs* of them.

The ancients call the mineral ſubſtance with which this was done, *ſtibium*, that is, *antimony*; but Dr. Shaw tells us [2], it is a rich *lead ore*, which, according to the deſcription of naturaliſts, looks very much like antimony. Thoſe that are unacquainted with that ſubſtance, may form a tolerable idea of it, by being told it is not very unlike the black-lead of which pencils are made, that are in every body's hands.

[1] Letters, vol. 2. p. 32. [2] P. 229.

Many paſſages of Scripture are *known* to refer to this cuſtom; but it has been *unobſerved*, I think, and for that reaſon makes an article in theſe papers, that it is moſt probable the *redneſs of the eyes*, according to our verſion, which the dying Patriarch mentions in bleſſing Judah, is to be explained by this uſage.

The original word occurs but twice in the Scriptures: in both places it evidently expreſſes *a conſequence of drinking wine*; but in one, it ſignifies an agreeable, and in the other, a reproachful effect of it. Gen. xlix. 12, and Prov. xxiii. 29, are the two places. I do not know that *redneſs of the eyes*, ſtrictly ſpeaking, is occaſioned by *drinking*: that ariſes from other cauſes. If we change the expreſſion a little, and, inſtead of *redneſs of the eyes*, read *redneſs of the countenance*, as ſome commentators are diſpoſed to do, it is certain ſuch an effect is produced by the drinking of wine, but it is however another word that expreſſes *redneſs* in general, that expreſſes *ruddineſs of complexion* in particular [3]; nor did the *Seventy* underſtand the word to ſignify *redneſs*, but a *kind of blackneſs*, for ſo they tranſlate Prov. xxiii. 29, whoſe eyes are μελιδνοι? a word which expreſſes the colour which ariſes from bruiſing the fleſh, and which is marked out in Engliſh by two words joined together—*black*

[3] See 1 Sam. 16. 12, ch. 17. 42, &c.

and blue. The Syriac and Arabic are ſaid to tranſlate it in the ſame manner [4]: and is it not more natural to explain it in this paſſage, which ſpeaks of woe, of ſorrow, of wounds, after this manner, than of a *red face?*

If the word is underſtood in this ſenſe, in this paſſage of the Proverbs, it cannot be agreeable to give it, unneceſſarily, another ſenſe, when we read the predictions of Jacob; and it is certain there is no difficulty in underſtanding it of *blackneſs of the eyes* there. The *blackneſs* that is communicated to the eyes by this lead ore, reduced to an impalpable powder, is expreſsly ſaid by Dr. Shaw, to be thought to add a wonderful *gracefulneſs* to perſons of all complexions: Lady Wortley Montague, in her lively way, ſays the ſame thing; for ſhe ſuppoſes our Engliſh ladies would be *overjoyed* to know this ſecret; and what is it that is the great beauty of the eye, but *ſprightlineſs and life?* And certainly, as ſorrow *deadens* the eye, or makes it dim, in the language of Job; wine *adds to it's vivacity:* as therefore it produces a ſimilar effect with the Eaſtern powder, it is no wonder a term belonging to this drug, is tranſlated in the language of prediction, which is known to be frequently a-kin to the language of poetry, to expreſs what follows the drinking of wine: *His eyes ſhall be*

[4] Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

blackened with wine; enlivened, that is, by wine, *as if blackened by lead ore*. Agreeably to this, though not with the ſame preciſion, the Seventy make uſe of a term in tranſlating the word in this place, which ſignifies the joyouſneſs of the eyes, as do alſo many of the Fathers [5].

St. Auſtin, however, is ſometimes an exception, tranſlating the word in ſome places indeed, *gliſtening*, *(fulgentes,)* but in others, *yellow* or *tawney*, *(fulvi.)* What the good Biſhop of Hippo underſtood, by the *eyes* of the people of the tribe of Judah's being made *yellow* by wine; or, if you pleaſe to underſtand it rather of their *countenances*, what by their being made *tawney* by the juice of the grape, I leave to others to enquire; ſome devout myſtic ſenſe may doubtleſs be put on ſuch a tranſlation; but great muſt be the abſurdity of ſuch a verſion, if underſtood literally: the Engliſh tranſlation, "His eyes "ſhall be red with wine," is as ill-founded, I believe; but if underſtood of the countenance in general, by no means ſo abſurd.

In truth, the *colours* which are mentioned in Scripture, ſolicit the cares of the Learned, as well as the *vegetables* and the *animals*, which have been more commonly thought of: what I have been ſaying proves it; as, I am afraid, a paſſage of the *very curious Michaelis* alſo doth. That ingenious and in-

[5] Vide Scholia in Sac. Bib. Græc. ex verſ. 70 Inter. Lond. 1653.

quiſitive author tells us, in a note on the twenty-eighth queſtion propoſed by him to the Daniſh Academicians, that *he was ready to believe, that the word* אדמרם, *which is tranſlated* red, (in the account that is given by Moſes of the Leproſy,) *comprehends in it the* yellow, *as it evidently does*, he ſays, Gen. xxv. 30, *as well as in the Arabic* [6]. How evidently this appears, by that paſſage in Geneſis, all will be ſenſible, that read that place of Dr. Shaw, in which he deſcribes this pottage, which, according to him, ſtill continues to be made in the Eaſt, of lentils, and is of a *chocolate* colour, p. 140. This Hebrew word in ſhort, which expreſſes the colour of *blood*, as appears from 2 Kings iii. 22; and of red wine, If. lxiii. 2; is uſed for a *dark browniſh red*, and ſuch a colour as that of a limon, too much differs, I ſhould think, to be denoted by one word.

There are other *reds*, much brighter than the colour of blood: with reſpect to which our tranſlators jumble and confound things ſtrangely, tranſlating three different Hebrew words *crimſon*, and rendering one of them ſometimes *crimſon*, and ſometimes *ſcarlet*. Of theſe, *ſhani*, I think, muſt undoubtedly

[6] Et je croirois preſque que le mot אדמרם, que l'on traduit par *rouſſâtre*, comprend encore la couleur *jaune*, comme il le fait evidemment Geneſ. 25. 30, auſſi bien que dans la langue Arabe, p. 75. It may be right to add, the expreſſion is ſoftened, in a copy of theſe queſtions joined to Niebuhr's deſcription of Arabia, but the ſuppoſition is not retracted.

mean

mean a *bright red*, for it deſcribes the colour of beautiful lips, Cant. iv. 3. That *tholang* means a red in general, is evident from Iſ. i. 18; and as it is uſed with *ſhani* to denote one colour, Exod. xxxix. 3, they ſhould both mean the ſame colour, one of them expreſſing the colour itſelf, and the other the *materials, or manner of dying it*, ſomewhat anſwering our term *engrained*. As for *carmil*, the other word tranſlated *crimſon*, 2 Chron. iii. 14, and in two or three other places, I am extremely dubious about it's meaning, but am rather inclined to believe it doth not ſignify any particular colour, but means *flowery*, or ſomething of that kind.

Laban certainly means *white*, for it deſcribes the colour of *milk*, Gen. xlix. 12; *ſhachor*, on the contrary, *black*, for it is the colour of the *raven*, Cant. v. 11; *chum* is the colour that ſometimes, but not commonly, appears among *ſheep*, and therefore ſignifies *brown*, Gen. xxx. 32; and *jerek* certainly means *green*, Exod. x. 15.

Other words are tranſlated *blue* and *purple*. We may believe thoſe bright and lively colours were in uſe in the days of Moſes, in their *painting* and *dying* both, but the determining the words that ſignify each muſt depend on lexicographers, there being nothing in the texts in which they occur ſo circumſtantial, I think, as to determine this matter. So Capt. Norden mentions *ultramarine*, as uſed with other lively colours, in painting thoſe remains

remains of very remote antiquity the Ægyptian hieroglyphics [7].

Observation XVI.

The MS.C, in a note on Eccleſiaſticus xii. 11, tells us the Eaſtern mirrors are of poliſhed *ſteel*, and for the moſt part *convex*.

The world has been ſo often told that the mirrors of the Iſraelitiſh women were of metal, on occaſion of what is ſaid Exod. xxxviii. 8, that few people of reading are unapprized of it; but the two circumſtances mentioned here are, I confeſs, new to me—the making them of *ſteel*, and the making them *convex* [1].

If they were made of the ſame material, and in the ſame form, in the country of *Elihu*, the image made uſe of by him muſt be more lively than if we ſuppoſe them made of *braſs, and flat*: "Haſt thou with him "ſpread out the ſky, which is ſtrong, and "as a molten looking-glaſs," Job xxxvii. 18. A ſerene ſky is much more of the colour of ſteel than of braſs; and a piece of this metal formed into a concavo-convex ſhape, muſt much more ſtrongly have affected the imagination of an Arab, thinking of the viſible appearance of the atmoſphere, than a plain piece of metal.

[7] Part 2. p. 75, 76.

[1] I have ſince obſerved, that Sir Thomas Roe's Chaplain has mentioned both theſe circumſtances in his Deſcription of the Eaſt Indies, p. 376.

Whether

Whether this kind of mirror was in uſe in the days of Moſes cannot be determined: but ſuch a curioſity, (to moſt, if not all my readers, a novelty,) I thought ought not to be ſuppreſſed; and eſpecially as it gives ſuch life and energy to the image uſed by Elihu. Thoſe mirrors that were brought out of Ægypt by the Iſraelitiſh women were, it ſeems, of *braſs*. Perhaps it may ſeem ſtrange, that either *ſteel or braſs*, which are ſo apt to *ruſt or canker*, ſhould be employed in the conſtruction of a ſacred veſſel for the holding of water, and which muſt be liable to be often beſprinkled on the outſide by thoſe that waſhed. The apocryphal writer himſelf, that ſpeaks of thoſe ſpeculums, ſuppoſes they were liable to *ruſt*: "Thou ſhalt "be unto him as if thou hadſt wiped a "looking-glaſs, and thou ſhalt know that "his *ruſt* hath not been altogether wiped "away." And braſs is liable to verdegris, as iron to ruſt.

Perhaps it may not be diſagreeable to obſerve, that, according to Dr. Perry, pipes of fountains, figures that ſpout out water, and baſons deſigned for the reception of it, in ſome of the palaces of the Grand Signior, are in like manner of *braſs*. They appear indeed to have been *gilt*, which muſt greatly preſerve them from cankering; the laver of Moſes might be *gilt* too. If the Turkiſh Sultan, who could ſo eaſily have commanded *ſilver*, or who might have confined himſelf

to

to *marble*, for theſe works, has made uſe of *braſs*, is it any wonder Moſes made uſe of this metal for his laver?

" Each window," ſays Dr. Perry [2], " in " the lower range, has a ſerpent's head (of) " *braſs gilt*, on each ſide of it, ſpouting " water into a receiver *of the ſame kind.*— " A ſmall caſcade ruſhes down a neat piece " of gilded ſhell-work, cut in marble on " each ſide of the walls; and diſcharges it- " ſelf at the mouths of eight *brazen* ſerpents " riſing at the foot of it, into a ſquare " marble baſon, which has a cluſter of little " pipes in the middle of it, and a double- " headed ſerpent at each corner ſpouting " the water into a cup of the ſame metal.— " All thoſe things are richly adorned and " embelliſhed with *fine gilding*, and the whole " ſtructure exhibits an air truly majeſtic.

Observation XVII.

The laſt word of thoſe paragraphs which deſcribe the imports of Solomon's navy from Tarſhiſh, is ſomewhat dubious: ſome of the learned have thought it means *parrots*, the greateſt number, *peacocks* [1].

What led ſome of the curious to imagine *parrots* were meant, I do not well know; but there is a paſſage in Haſſelquiſt [2] which

[2] P. 26. [1] Pavones, vel juxta quoſdam, Pſittaci, ſays Buxtorff, in his Epit. Rad. Heb. [2] P. 298.

ſtrongly

ſtrongly inclines me to adopt their ſentiment: deſcribing the commerce of the people of Ethiopia, he ſays, *The Abyſſinians make a journey every year to Cairo, to ſell the products of their country, ſlaves*, gold, elephants, *drugs*, monkeys, parrots, *&c.* As Solomon's navy is ſaid to have *brought* gold and *ſilver*, elephants teeth, and apes, and peacocks [3], *and this by way of the Red-Sea*, 1 Kings ix. 26, which waſhes the Eaſt of Abyſſinia, one would imagine, as many of the other particulars tally with each other, that inſtead of *peacocks*, the true tranſlation of the laſt word is *parrots*.

Religion indeed is not at all concerned in this uncertainty; but it is a matter of *curioſity*, and as ſuch may, with great propriety, be taken notice of in theſe papers.]

VII. Observation XVIII.

Herodotus, it ſeems, thought the Ægyptian women's carrying on commerce was a *curioſity* that deſerved to be inſerted in his hiſtory: it can hardly then be thought an impropriety, to take notice of this circumſtance in a collection of papers tending to illuſtrate the Scriptures, and eſpecially in a country where the *women* indeed *ſpin*, but the *men* not only *buy* and *ſell*, but *weave*, and do almoſt every thing elſe relating to manufactures.

[3] 1 Kings 20. 22, 2 Chron. 9. 21.

The

The commerce mentioned by Herodotus is loſt, according to Maillet, from among the women of Ægypt in general, being only retained by the Arabs of that country who live in the mountains. The Arabian hiſtorians ſay [1], that the women uſed to deal in buying and ſelling of things woven of ſilk gold and ſilver, of pure ſilk, of cotton, of cotton and thread, or ſimple linen-cloth, whether made in the country or imported; the men in wheat, barley, rice, and other productions of the earth. Maillet, in giving an account of the alteration in this reſpect in Ægypt, affirms, that this uſage ſtill continues among the Arabs to this day who live in the mountains, and conſequently he muſt be underſtood to affirm, that the things that are woven among the Arabs and ſold, are ſold by the women, who are indeed the perſons that weave the mens hykes in Barbary, according to Dr. Shaw [2], and doubtleſs weave in Ægypt.

Now this is preciſely what the book of Proverbs ſuppoſeth the Iſraelitiſh women, that were induſtrious, anciently did: "She "*maketh* fine linen, and *ſelleth* it, and deli- "vereth *girdles* unto the merchants [3]." However diſſonant this may be to our manners, it is what perfectly agreed with the ſimplicity of the moſt ancient times, and is ac-

[1] Maillet, lett. 11. p. 134. [2] P. 224, 240. [3] Prov. 31. 24.

cordingly

cordingly retained by the Arabs, who are noted for the keeping to old uſages.

VIII. OBSERVATION XIX.

It is cuſtomary for the Turks and Moors, according to Dr. Shaw, to wear *ſhirts* of linen, or cotton, or gauze, under their tunics; but the Arabs *wear nothing but woollen* [1]. This is frequently the caſe alſo with the Arabs of Palæſtine, it ſhould ſeem, though d'Arvieux gives a contrary account of the Arabs of the camp of the Grand Emir whom he viſited [2]: for Egmont and Heyman aſſure us [3], that they ſaw ſeveral *Arabian* inhabitants of Jaffa [4] going along almoſt naked, the *greateſt part* of them without ſo much as a *ſhirt* or a pair of breeches, though ſome wore a kind of mantle; as for the children there, they ran about almoſt as naked as they were born, though they had all little chains about their legs as an ornament, and ſome of ſilver.

The reaſon of the difference between theſe authors is, without doubt, d'Arvieux's deſcribing thoſe of the camp of the Grand Emir, who were many of them perſons of conſequence; and Egmont and Heyman's giving an account of the poorer ſort of Arabs. However, it is viſible from this laſt book, that many of the poorer people of

[1] P. 228. [2] Voy. dans la Pal. par la Roque, ch. 16. [3] Vol. 1. p. 298. [4] Called Joppa in the New Teſtament.

Palæ-

Palæſtine, as well as in Barbary, wear no *ſhirts*, while thoſe in eaſier circumſtances do; which wearing of linen next them cannot but be a peculiar agreeableneſs in thoſe hot climates.

May we not then ſuppoſe that many of the poorer inhabitants of Judæa, in ancient times, ſhifted as the Arabs of this country do now? And may not this explain the propoſal made by Samſon, to give not only thirty changes of garments, but thirty other things, confirming the ſuppoſition of the margin of our Bibles, which reads thirty *ſhirts*, if they could decypher the difficulty he propoſed to them, and they to give him the ſame, if they could not? It cannot eaſily be imagined that they were what *we* mean by *ſheets*, for Samſon might have ſlain thirty Philiſtines near Aſhkelon, and not have met with one ſheet; or if he ſlew ſuch as were carrying their bedding with them in their travels, as they often do now, the deſtroying fifteen would have been ſufficient, the people of the Eaſt uſing an upper and an under-ſheet as we do[5]; but he ſlew juſt thirty, in order to acquire thirty Sedinim, thirty *ſhirts* that is, or at leaſt not thirty *ſheets* in the common ſenſe of the word.

The ſuppoſing them to be thirty *ſhirts* is not pretended to be a new thought: I have

[5] Voy. dans la Pal. p. 177.

expreſſly obſerved that our marginal reading tranſlates the Hebrew word thus; but I do not know that it has been remarked by any body that this circumſtance, if it be allowed to be fact, points out the *bitterneſs* of this ſlaughter to the Philiſtines, ſince it ſhews that they were not thirty common people of that nation that he ſlew, but thirty perſons of figure and conſequence.

This obſervation may equally take place, if we ſhould ſuppoſe it ſignifies ſome other ſort of veſtment, not ſo near the ſkin: for, in this caſe, thoſe he ſlew had two different things upon them, whereas the poorer ſort of people of Palæſtine have only a kind of mantle on them; not to ſay that it appears, from Iſ. iii. 23, that whatever it was, it ſignifies an high part of dreſs, a conſideration which ſeems to put the matter quite out of all doubt, as to their being perſons of rank that he deſtroyed [6].

IX. Observation XX.

Biſhop Pococke obſerves, in deſcribing the *dreſſes* of the people of Ægypt, that "it is "almoſt a general cuſtom among the Arabs "and Mohammedan natives of the country, "to wear a large blanket, either white or

[6 Sir John Chardin, in his MS, ſuppoſes the word ſignifies *drawers*. If underſtood after this manner, it may point out their being perſons of ſome diſtinction, many of the poorer Arabs wearing none.]

" brown, and in ſummer a blue and white
" cotton *ſheet*, which the Chriſtians con-
" ſtantly uſe in the country; putting one
" corner before over the left ſhoulder, they
" bring it behind, and under the right arm,
" and ſo over their bodies, throwing it be-
" hind over the left ſhoulder, and ſo the
" right arm is left bare for action. When
" it is hot, and they are on horſeback, they
" let it fall down on the ſaddle round them;
" and about Faiume I particularly obſerved,
" that young people eſpecially, and the
" poorer ſort, had *nothing on whatever* but
" this blanket; and it is *probable* the *young*
" *man was clothed in this manner*, who fol-
" lowed our Saviour when he was taken,
" having a *linen cloth* caſt about his *naked*
" body; and when the young men laid hold
" on him, he left the linen cloth, and fled
" from them *naked*[1]."

I am very much diſpoſed to think as the Biſhop does upon this point; and as he has made this obſervation, I ſhould not have thought of introducing it into theſe papers, had I not apprehended ſome additional remarks might not be altogether uſeleſs.

This account relates to Ægypt; but it appears from that paſſage of Egmont and Heyman, which I cited under the laſt Obſervation, that many of the inhabitants of Palæſtine are as ſlightly clothed now as theſe

[1] Deſcript. of the Eaſt, vol. 1. p. 190.

Ægyptians, and we may believe were ſo anciently.

The ancients, or at leaſt many of them, ſuppoſed that the young man in queſtion, who is mentioned Mark xiv. 51, 52, was one of the Apoſtles. Grotius [2] wonders how they could think of ſuch a thing; and ſuppoſes it was ſome youth, who lodged in a country-houſe near to the garden of Gethſemané, who ran out in a hurry to ſee what was the matter in his night-veſtment, or *in his ſhirt*, as we ſhould expreſs it. But the word that is uſed to expreſs what he had upon him, expreſſes alſo ſuch a cloth as they wrapped up the dead in, and occurs in no other ſenſe in the New Teſtament; but the Eaſtern people do not lay like corpſes wrapped up in a winding-ſheet, but in drawers and one or two waiſtcoats at Aleppo [3]; and thoſe that go without drawers, (as the Arabs of Barbary do, according to Dr. Shaw [4], and many of thoſe of the Holy-Land, if we may believe Egmont and Heyman,) ſleep in their raiment, and their hyke which they wear *by day*, ſerves them for a bed and covering *by night* [5]. It might as well then be an Apoſtle in his day-dreſs, as an ordinary youth wrapped up in that in which he lay; and it is rather to be underſtood of an Apoſtle in his common

[2] In loc. [3] See Ruſſell, p. 89, 90. [4] P. 224. [5] See Shaw in the laſt cited place. Voyez auſſi le Voy. dans la Pal. par la Roque, p. 176.

clothing,

clothing, than a perſon of figure in his drawers and waiſtcoat, in which ſuch perſons now lay, and which we may believe Dionyſius Alexandrinus meant, by the εν λινω εσθημαλι of his epiſtle, which Grotius quotes.

A later commentator takes notice, that though this youth is ſaid to fly naked away, upon his leaving the linen cloth in the hands of thoſe that ſeized him, yet it is by no means neceſſary to ſuppoſe he was abſolutely naked: which is indeed very true; but is not this preciſely the thing however that the Evangeliſt deſigns to intimate, in order to mark out the extreme fear of this young man, who rather choſe to quit his hyke, than run the riſque of being made a priſoner? though, by doing this, he became entirely expoſed, which, in thoſe countries, is looked on in a much more diſagreeable light than among us; inſomuch, that the *very children* have been obſerved to have had *drawers* on, when they *ſwim*[6]: and probably the modeſty of the Jews of thoſe times was equal to that of the modern Arabs[7].

Dr.

[6] Voy. dans la Pal. p. 177, 178. [7] This account of d'Arvieux has been thought not to agree very well with Egmont and Heyman's, cited under the preceding Obſervation. I do not reckon myſelf obliged to reconcile all the contrarieties that may occur, in the authors I have occaſion to cite: but as to this ſeeming-contradiction, I would obſerve, that perſons may be extremely well covered without wearing drawers, as in the caſe of the Arabs of Barbary; and that as to children, thoſe that are *very young*, may, in the apprehenſions of the Eaſtern peo-

Dr. Lightfoot ſuppoſes, as I do, that he had nothing on under this linen cloth; but he is ready to attribute this to mortification, and a ſuperſtitious auſterity: but if he was not an Apoſtle, as the Doctor doth not ſuppoſe he was, yet he muſt be underſtood to have been a diſciple of Jeſus, or he needed not have been afraid; and we know, that though the diſciples of John followed a rigorous inſtitute, thoſe of Chriſt did not, "Why do the diſciples of John and of the "Phariſees *faſt*, but thy diſciples faſt not?" Mark ii. 18.

Observation XXI.

[When Elijah fled for his life from Jezebel, we are told that he went a day's journey into the wilderneſs of Beerſheba, and that ſitting down under a *juniper-tree*, tired with his journey, and oppreſſed with grief,

ple, be left abſolutely naked, without breaking the rules o modeſty, while thoſe that approach nearer a ſtate of maturity, may put on drawers when they ſwim, a care that is ſeldom taken, by any in our own country. It is certain that Norden repreſents the young children of the generous Barbarin, whoſe cottage he viſited in Ægypt, as running about there *quite naked*, vol. 2. p. 119; whereas Egmont and Heyman only deſcribe them as *almoſt* naked: on the other hand, d'Arvieux, without doubt, ſaw ſome youths ſwimming with drawers on, which he happened to mention in particular, as, in general, he found them obſerving the rules of decency with great exactneſs. *Very young* children are, in moſt nations, treated with much leſs ſcrupulous care than thoſe farther advanced.]

he

he fell aſleep, after having requeſted of God that he might die.

A writer, who is with great juſtneſs extremely celebrated [1], ſuppoſes that this reſting under a *juniper-tree* expreſſed great *careleſſneſs about his health*, and cites a paſſage from Virgil [2], as a proof that the ſhadow of this tree was noxious. One can hardly read this without thinking of that wantonneſs, in applying their learning, which we ſee oftentimes in the works of eminent men, but of which we are unwilling to ſuppoſe a perſon of ſuch diſtinction as Grotius would be guilty, and eſpecially in a commentary on Scripture.

The paſſage in Virgil does not prove what it is cited for: taking the whole two lines, they ſignify that the ſhade in general, to thoſe that ſung, was, *at that time of the year*, ſuppoſed to be noxious, if long continued in; that it was then injurious to the fruits themſelves. The ſhade of the juniper-tree is diſtinctly mentioned, apparently for no other reaſon, but becauſe being an evergreen, and it's leaves growing very cloſe, it's ſhade muſt be more chilly then, and damp, than of ſeveral other trees. That it's ſhade is not noxious, at leaſt not thought to be ſo by the people of the Eaſt, is ſufficiently plain from a paſſage in Dr. Shaw, who tells us,

[1] Grotius. Valetudinis incurioſus.

[2] ——Solet eſſe gravis cantantibus umbra:
Juniperi gravis umbra: nocent & frugibus umbræ.
Ecl. 10. 75, 6.

that a city of Barbary, famous for remains of ancient magnificence, is "pleaſantly ſituated upon a riſing-ground, ſhaded *all over with juniper-trees*[3]." Would they have raiſed ſuch noble edifices anciently, or would they now dwell under the ſhade of ſuch a grove, if it's effluvia were *deadly*, or if trees of that ſpecies were thought to be *injurious* to health?

Another commentator[4] of conſiderable name, though not of equal celebrity with Grotius, ſuppoſes, on the contrary, that he repoſed himſelf under a juniper-tree, for the *more effectual preſervation of his health*, it's ſhade being *a protection from ſerpents*; and that it was the *cuſtom* of the people of that country to guard themſelves by ſuch precautions. This is, I doubt, equally viſionary. Travellers have ſometimes mentioned their ſitting under trees in that hot country; ſome of them[5], their enjoying that pleaſure in that very deſert of which this wilderneſs of Beerſheba is a part; but not one word of their guides chooſing out juniper-trees as defenſative againſt venomous animals; and indeed, according to Dioſcorides, they were the *embers* of juniper-wood, not the ſhade of the living tree, that poſſeſſed the power of driving away ſerpents[6].

The truth ſeems to be, that Elijah flying into a wilderneſs in the ſouth of Judæa, to

[3] P. 119. [4] Pet. Martyr. Vide Poli Syn. in loc.
[5] Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2. p. 151. [6] Lib. 1. p. 103.

eſcape the rage of Jezebel, found himſelf extremely oppreſſed with heat, and was glad to find a tree to ſhade him. Trees do not grow very commonly there, but there are ſome. He found, it ſeems, a juniper-tree in particular, which was extremely welcome to him on account of its thick ſhade, without any apprehenſion of it's poſſeſſing any *deleterious*, or, on the contrary, any *alexipharmic* quality; he repaired to it merely for it's ſhade, and there he fell aſleep, and was awakened by a merciful angelic viſion, after ſome time, which muſt greatly have comforted him.—Can any thing now be more impertinent than an imagination, that the prophet repaired thither with an intention *verging* towards *ſelf-deſtruction?*

Dioſcorides was a native of Cilicia: if we may ſuppoſe that the *Eaſtern* notion of the age of Dioſcorides, who was contemporary with the Apoſtles, was ſome hundreds of years older than his time; if it was in particular as old as the time of David; it is *not impoſſible* that the Pſalmiſt might refer to this ſuppoſed quality of the embers of the juniper-tree, in thoſe words of the one hundred and twentieth pſalm, "What ſhall be done unto "thee, thou *falſe* tongue? Sharp arrows of "the mighty, with coals of juniper."

It is difficult to ſay, with determinateneſs, why the coals of juniper are particularly mentioned. Some interpreters have aſcribed to them the power of *long preſerving* fire;

fire; ſome have mentioned the *fragrance* of the wood; but theſe explanations are uot very ſatisfactory: and as to the firſt property, St. Jerome's account of thoſe embers keeping fire, when covered up with aſhes, a *whole twelvemonth*, will hardly obtain credit, notwithſtanding his *canonization*.

But if coals of juniper were thought, in the days of the Pſalmiſt, to have poſſeſſed the power of driving away venomous animals, the thought might, poſſibly, be this: *Oh what ſhall be done to thee that poſſeſſeſt a tongue of falſehood? Thou ſhalt be given up to the arrows of the mighty, which ſhall pierce through thee with deadly force, after thou ſhalt be made to appear in thy true light, as poiſonous animals are forced out of their lurking-holes, and brought into view by the energy of coals of juniper, and then deſtroyed.*

It is certain malignant ſpirits are in Scripture compared to *venomous ſerpents*, Pſ. cxl. 3; and that Biſhop Pococke mentions a ſpecies of the juniper-tree, in his catalogue of the *plants of Palæſtine*; but he doth not tell us whether he found it growing in the *deſerts*, or elſewhere.

After all, it is very uncertain whether the *juniper* is meant by the original word. *Broom* grows in thoſe wilderneſſes, according to travellers[7]; and ſome very learned men have ſuppoſed that was the plant that was meant.

[7] Thevenot, part 1. p. 163.

Our

Our broom indeed is *ſo low* a plant, that it would hardly have been ſufficient to cover Elijah from the heat; but there is a ſpecies of broom which it is ſaid grows to an height ſufficient to have ſhaded him; and it's Spaniſh name, ſuppoſed to have been brought thither from the Eaſt, agrees very well with the Hebrew word.

Nor is it very difficult, to aſſign a reaſon why the Pſalmiſt ſhould mention the coals of broom, in the paſſage we have been referring to. He was then *in the tents of Kedar* [8], or among the *Arabs*. In thoſe deſerts they frequently are obliged to uſe dried [9] dung of camels, by way of fuel. This fuel muſt be extremely faint in compariſon of wood. And *broom* being the wood the Arabs among whom he dwelt chiefly uſed, nothing was more natural for him, than to tell the lying tongue, it ſhould feel anguiſh like that of *fire* [10], the moſt *vigorous fire* that he ſaw employed in thoſe deſerts.

Indeed the *root* neither of the juniper, nor of the broom, ſeems to be *eatable*, and conſequently it may be thought that Job xxx. 4. proves, that the word Rothem, the original word which ſome ſuppoſe ſignifies juniper, and

[8] V. 5. [9] Shaw, pref. p. 12. [10] Hariri deſcribes the heart as having fierce burning coals depoſited upon it, when he would ſignify the great anxiety under which it laboured, which the note tells us is a *proverbial* form of ſpeech. See Six Aſſemblies, &c, by Chappelow, p. 106.

others

others broom, means neither of them. But it is poſſible, the ſame word, or nearly the ſame word, may ſignify very different vegetables. The word *plantain* ſignifies an *herb*, that grows very commonly in graſs-plats; and it ſignifies alſo a large American *tree*, which our voyagers frequently mention. So the word *aloes* denotes certain foreign *herbs*, remarkably ſucculent; and it means a *tree* alſo, whoſe wood is extremely fragrant and precious. A kindred Arabian word to that which occurs in theſe texts, and which is rendered juniper in our verſion, means, it ſeemeth, a ſort of *broom*; and the ſame, or a ſimilar word, appears to ſignify a ſort of herb, which grows in the Arabian deſerts. "We reached," ſay Egmont and Heyman [11], ſpeaking of their journey to Mount Sinai, "the valley of Rethame: This valley, called "in the Hebrew *Rethame*, and commonly "*Ritma*, derives it's name from a *yellow* "*flower* called *Rettem*, with which the val- "ley is ennamelled." This plant was evidently a very different thing from a tree ſufficient to ſhade Elijah, while he took ſome repoſe: whether it's root is ever uſed for food by any poor ſtarving Arabians, we are not told by them, or any other traveller that I have read, ſo far as I can remember. How happy would a more perfect knowledge of the natural hiſtory of the Eaſt be!]

[11] Vol. 2. p. 154.

OBSER-

Observation XXII. X.

Captain Norden, among other particulars he thought worthy of notice, has given some account [1] of the *lamps* and *lanterns* that they make use of commonly at Cairo. "The "lamp," he tells us, "is of the palm-tree "wood, of the height of twenty-three "inches, and made in a very gross manner. "The glass, that hangs in the middle, is "half filled with water, and has oil on "the top, about three fingers in depth. "The wick is preserved dry at the bot-"tom of the glass, where they have con-"trived a place for it, and ascends through "a pipe. These lamps do not give *much* "*light*; yet they are very commodious, be-"cause they are *transported easily* from one "place to another.

"With regard to the *lanterns*, they have "pretty nearly the figure of a cage, and "are made of *reeds*. It is a *collection of five* "*or six glasses*, like to that of the lamp, "which has been just described. They sus-"pend them by cords in the middle of the "streets, when there is any great festival at "Cairo, and they put painted paper in the "place of the reeds."

Were these the *lanterns* that those that came to take Jesus made use of? or were

[1] Part I. p. 83.

they

they ſuch *lamps* as theſe that Chriſt referred to in the parable of the virgins? or are we rather to ſuppoſe that theſe *lanterns* are appropriated to the Ægyptian illuminations, and that Dr. Pococke's account, of the lanterns of this country, will give us a better idea of the lanterns that were anciently made uſe of at Jeruſalem?

"By night," ſays that author [2], ſpeaking of the travelling of the people of Ægypt, "they rarely make uſe of tents, but lie in "the open air, having *large lanterns*, made "like a pocket paper lantern, the bottom "and top being of copper, tinned over: and "inſtead of paper, they are made with li-"nen, which is extended by hoops of wire, "ſo that when it is put together, it ſerves "as a candleſtick, &c. and they have "a contrivance to hang it up abroad, by "means of three ſtaves."

It appears from travellers, that lamps, wax-candles, torches, lanterns, and creſſet-lights [3], are all made uſe of among the Eaſtern people [4]. I think alſo, that there are only three words in the New Teſtament to expreſs theſe things by, of which, λυχνος ſeems to ſignify the *common lamps* that are uſed in ordinary life, (ſee Luke xv. 8,) which, according to Norden, afford but little light: Λαμπας, which is one of the words which is

[2] Vol. 1. Deſcript. of the Eaſt. [3] A kind of moveable beacons. [4] Thevenot, part 2. p. 35 and 37, Norden, part 1. p. 124, Hanway.

made

made uſe of John xviii. 3, ſeems to mean any ſort of light that ſhines brighter than common, whether torches, blazing reſinous pieces of wood, or lamps that are ſupplied with more than ordinary quantities of oil, or other unctuous ſubſtances; ſuch as that mentioned by Hanway in his Travels [5], which ſtood in the court-yard of a perſon of ſome diſtinction in Perſia, was ſupplied with tallow, and was ſufficient to enlighten the whole place, as a ſingle wax-candle ſerved for the illumination of the room where he was entertained: and ſuch I preſume were the lamps our Lord ſpeaks of in the parable of the virgins, which were ſomething of the nature of common lamps, for they were ſupplied with oil, but then were ſuppoſed to be ſufficient for enlightening the company they went to meet, on a very joyful occaſion, which required the moſt vigorous lights [6].

The other word, which occurs in John xviii. 3, is no where elſe to be found in the New Teſtament; and whether it preciſely

[5] Vol. 1. p. 223. [6] Sir J. Chardin, in his MS. note on Mat. 25. 44, informs us, *that in many parts of the Eaſt, and in particular in the Indies, inſtead of torches and flambeaux, they carry a pot of oil in one hand, and a lamp full of oily rags in the other.* This ſeems to be a very happy illuſtration of this part of the parable. He obſerves, in another of the MSS, that they ſeldom make uſe of candles in the Eaſt, eſpecially among the Great; candles caſting but little light, and they ſitting at a conſiderable diſtance from them. Ezek. 1. 18. repreſents the light of lamps accordingly as very lively.]

means

means lanterns, as our tranſlators render the word, I do not certainly know. If it doth, I conclude, without much heſitation, that it ſignifies ſuch *linen lanterns* as Dr. Pococke gives an account of, rather than thoſe mentioned by Norden, which ſeem rather to be machines proper for illuminations than for common uſe; and if ſo, the Evangeliſt perhaps means, that they came with ſuch *lanterns* as people were wont to make uſe of when abroad in the night; but leſt the weakneſs of the light ſhould give an opportunity to Jeſus to eſcape, many of them had *torches*, or ſuch *large and bright burning lamps* as were made uſe of on nuptial ſolemnities, the more effectually to ſecure him. Such was the treachery of Judas, and the zeal of his attendants!

Observation XXIII.

[Dandini telleth us, that "in Mount Libanus *they never uſe* ſpades *to their vineyards, but they cultivate them with their oxen; for they are planted with ſtrait rows of trees, far enough one from another* [1]."

As the uſages of the Eaſt ſo ſeldom change, it is very probable a *ſpade* was not commonly uſed in the time of our Lord in their vineyards. We find the Prophet Iſaiah uſing a term [2], which our tranſlators indeed render by the Engliſh word *digging*, but which

[1] Chap. 10. p. 43. [2] Iſ. 5. 6, &c, chap. 7. 25.

differs

differs from that which expreſſes the digging of wells, of graves, &c, in other places; and is the ſame with that uſed to ſignify keeping in rank, 1 Chron. xii. 33, 38. When then Jeſus repreſents the vine-dreſſer as ſaying to his lord, Luke xiii. 8, "Let it "alone this year alſo, till I ſhall *dig* about "it and dung it," it ſhould ſeem we are not to underſtand the *digging with a ſpade* about the fig-tree, planted in a vineyard according to their cuſtoms [3]; but the turning up the ground, between the rows of trees, with an inſtrument proper for the purpoſe drawn by oxen — ploughing about it, in other words.]

Observation XXIV. XI.

Whether the *garden* of Gethſemané had any *water* in it, doth not appear by the Evangelic hiſtory; but water is not only a *great addition* to a garden in thoſe hot climates, (it is ſo in ours,) it is even neceſſary: without it every thing in the ſummer would be parched up. *All* the gardens of Aleppo, according to Dr. Ruſſell, are on the banks of the river that runs by that city, or on the ſides of the rill that ſupplies their aqueduct;

[3] "The riſing-grounds above the gardens, to which the "water cannot be conveyed, are in ſome places laid out "in *vineyards*, interſperſed with olive, *fig*, and piſtachio-"trees, as are alſo many ſpots to the Eaſtward." Ruſſell's Nat. Hiſt. of Aleppo, p. 9.

and all the reſt of the country he repreſents as perfectly burnt up in the ſummer-months, the gardens only retaining their verdure, on account of the moiſtneſs of the ſituation.

I do not know that the *neceſſity* of water to their gardens has been remarked, but it is requiſite to attend to this circumſtance, if we would enter into the energy of Iſ. i. 30: "Ye ſhall be as an oak, whoſe leaf fadeth; "and *as a garden that hath no water.*"

It is not however to be imagined, that every garden in the Eaſt is by the ſide of a river, or perennial brook: Gethſemané is not ſo ſituated, nor is this an argument, that is valid, to prove that the place now ſhewn for it was not a garden in the time of our Lord; ſince it is by Kedron, which, though dry in ſummer, ran in winter, and might fill a reſervoir of water ſufficient for all the ſummer-months. Receptacles of this kind might be, and doubtleſs often were, filled by the rains too; but water, in one way or other, is, and was, abſolutely neceſſary to an Eaſtern garden.

XII. Observation XXV.

Dr. Ruſſell tells us, that the Engliſh at Aleppo generally live at the gardens near Baballah, during the month of April, and part of May[1]. This I have had occaſion to mention elſewhere[2], on another account;

[1] P. 135. [2] Ch. 1.

but

but I would here obſerve, that if the ſacred writer refers to ſuch a ſort of retirement in the cloſe of the ſeventh chapter of Canticles, the word *fruits* ſhould not, I doubt, have been introduced there: "Come, my "beloved, let us go forth into the field: "let us lodge in the villages. Let us get "up early to the vineyards; let us ſee if the "vine flouriſh, whether the tender grape "appear, and the pomegranates bud forth: "there will I give thee my loves. The "mandrakes give a ſmell, and at our gates "are all manner of *pleaſant fruits*, new and "old, which I have laid up for thee, O my "beloved."

The budding of the pomegranates, &c, ſeems to determine their going into the field to *this time of the year*: but though there might be *old* fruits indeed, at that time, in plenty, ſuch as currants, raiſins, dried apricots, piſtaches, which Ruſſell mentions, p. 106, 107, to which I might add figs and almonds, of which things ſeveral, though probably not all [3], were known before the age of Solomon; yet hardly any *new* fruits could then be found, none being mentioned by Ruſſell, as produced at Aleppo by that time.

Migdanoth, a word very nearly related to the word *Megadim* uſed here, apparently ſignifies precious things of a very different kind from the fruits of a garden, in Gen. xxiv.

[3] See Shaw, p. 145. and 341.

53, 2 Chron. xxi. 3, ch. xxxii, 23, Ezra i. 6[4]; but they cannot be things of the nature of thoſe referred to there that are here meant, as appears from the invitation to go into the *field*, the *villages*, to enjoy them.

If then they are neither fruits, nor jewels of gold, that are here meant, why may we not underſtand the word as ſignifying precious plants in general, *herbs* and *flowers*, *ſhrubs* and *trees*? So the *new and old* megadim that were treaſured up, will ſignify a delightful mixture of *new* plants, with thoſe deſirable ones that had been *wont* to grow in the gardens of Judæa.

Great additions of precious flowers, ſhrubs, and trees, have been made to the gardens of Europe. Exotic plants have been introduced alſo into thoſe of the Eaſt. Ruſſell tells us, that the Ladies of Aleppo are very fond of ſeveral European flowers that have been introduced into their gardens. A *Baſhaw* of Ægypt took great pains to preſerve the balm of Matareah[5]; *Cambyſes* carried the peach into Egypt[6]; and it is thought to be out of doubt, that the caſſia, the orange and lemon-kind, apricot, moſeh, (a delicious fruit, but which cannot be kept,) the pomegranate,

[4 How ſtrange then is the explanation of this word, Migdanoth, by Buxtorf, in his Epitome Rad. Heb.—Res pretioſæ, ſed de fructibus terræ tantum dicitur, who, immediately after this interpretation, cites Gen. 24. 53, Ezra 1. 6, 2 Chron. 32. 23, in proof of the juſtneſs of it; paſſages that rather prove the contrary of what he had ſaid!] [5] Maillet, Let. 3. p. 111. [6] Let 9. p. 15.

the cous, or cream-tree, are none of them natives of that country [7]. And can it be imagined then, that when novelties have been in all ages introduced into gardens, and that in the Eaſt as well as the Weſt, there ſhould not be *many ſuch* in the days of a Prince, who not only planted trees of all kinds of fruit for pleaſure, Eccleſ. ii. 5, but who alſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the ſtudy of natural hiſtory, and of vegetables in particular, 1 Kings iv. 33? What is more, Joſephus expreſsly tells us, it was the tradition, that the balſam for which Judæa was ſo famous, came from the queen of Sheba, who preſented a root of it to Solomon [8].

Nothing, in this view, could be more natural, than for the ſpouſe to invite the bridegroom into a royal garden, among whoſe *ancient* precious productions ſhe had taken care to mingle ſome *new* plants of the moſt curious kind, which he might enjoy in the moſt perfect manner by going thither: *at our gates*, or, as it is elſewhere tranſlated, *at our doors*, at hand that is, *will you there find all* manner of precious plants.

The words, underſtood in this ſenſe, are by no means unnatural, if they are, on the other hand, ſuppoſed to be thoſe of the bridegroom.

[7] Pococke's Deſc. of the Eaſt, vol. 1. p. 205. [8] Antiq. lib. 8. c. 6.

XIII. OBSERVATION XXVI.

Whether Solomon, who amuſed himſelf with the ſtudy of plants, took alſo the diverſion of hunting, we are not told; but there are various ſorts of creatures in the Holy-Land proper for this purpoſe: wild-boars, antelopes, hares, &c, are in conſiderable numbers there, and one of the *Chriſtian kings* of Jeruſalem loſt his life, we are told[1], in purſuing one of the laſt-mentioned animals. But what I mention this for, is to introduce a circumſtance relating to the creatures *with* which they hunt, that I do not remember to have ſeen mentioned in any of the commentators, but to which a Prophet ſeems to refer, when he obſerves that the horſes of the Chaldeans would be found ſwifter than *leopards*, Hab. i. 8: for *leopards* tamed, and taught to hunt, are, it is ſaid, made uſe of in that country for hunting, and ſeize the prey with ſurprizing agility.

So le Bruyn tells us, that he had often ſeen the Baſhaw of Gaza go to hunt jackalls, which are in that country in *great numbers*, and which he took by means of a *leopard* trained to it from it's youth. The hunter, he ſays, is wont to keep it before him upon his horſe, and when he meets with a jackall, the *leopard* leaps down, and creeps along, till he thinks himſelf within reach of the

[1] Geſta Dei &c, p. 887, 888.

beaſt; when with *incredible agility* he leaps upon it, throwing himſelf ſeventeen or eighteen feet at a time[z].

If we ſuppoſe that this way of hunting was in uſe in the time of the Prophet Habakkuk, the image was ſufficiently familiar to the common people, who might be ſuppoſed to be ignorant of what was done by the *wild leopards in the deſerts*, and muſt be very ſtriking.

Observation XXVII. XIV.

From hunting let us paſs on to fowling. The famous Ludolphus, and after him Biſhop Patrick, and the late Biſhop of Clogher, believed that they were *locuſts*, and not *quails*, that the children of Iſrael eat in the wilderneſs. Dr. Shaw ſtrongly argues the contrary[a]; but he takes no notice of the difficulties which induced Patrick to ſuppoſe they were locuſts, and which he gives an account of in his comment on Num. xi. 31, 32. They are theſe—Their coming with a *wind*; their *immenſe quantities*, covering a circle of thirty or forty miles diameter two cubits thick; their being ſpread in the ſun for drying, which, he ſays, would have been prepoſterous if they had been quails, for it would have made them ſtink the ſooner, interpreters therefore, he thinks, paſs over this circumſtance in ſilence, where-

[z] Tome 2. p. 154. [a] P. 189.

as all authors ſay that this is the principal way of preparing locuſts, to keep for a month or more, when they are boiled, or otherwiſe dreſſed.

Theſe difficulties appear preſſing; or at leaſt the two laſt: nevertheleſs, I have met with ſeveral paſſages in books of Travels, which I ſhall here give an account of, that may ſoften them; perhaps my reader may think *they do more*.

No interpreters, the Biſhop complains, ſuppoſing they were quails, account for the ſpreading them out in the ſun. Perhaps they have not. Let me then tranſlate a paſſage of Maillet [2], which relates to a little iſland that covers one of the ports of Alexandria. "It is on this iſland, which lies farther into the ſea than the main-land of Ægypt, that the birds annually alight, which come hither for refuge in autumn, in order to avoid the ſeverity of the cold of our winters in Europe. There is ſo large a quantity of all ſorts taken there, that after theſe little birds have been ſtripped of their feathers, and *buried in the burning ſands* for about half a quarter of an hour, they are worth but two ſols the pound. The crews of thoſe veſſels, which in that ſeaſon lay in the harbour of Alexandria, have no other meat allowed them." Among other *refugees* of that time, Maillet elſewhere [3] expreſsly mentions

[2] Let. 4. p. 130. [3] Let. 9. p. 21.

quails,

quails, which are therefore, I ſuppoſe, treated after this manner. This paſſage then does what, according to the Biſhop, no commentator has done; it explains the deſign of ſpreading theſe creatures, ſuppoſing they were quails, round about the camp—it was to dry them in the burning ſands, in order to preſerve them for uſe. So Maillet tells us of their drying fiſh in the ſun in Ægypt, as well as of their preſerving others by means of pickle [4]. Other authors ſpeak of ſome of the Arabs drying camels fleſh in the ſun and wind, which, though it be not at all ſalted, will, if kept dry, remain good a long while, and which oftentimes, to ſave themſelves the trouble of dreſſing, they will eat raw [5]. This is what St. Jerome may be ſuppoſed to refer to, when he calls the food of the Arabs *carnes ſemi-crudæ* [6].

This drying then of fleſh in the ſun is not ſo prepoſterous as the Biſhop imagined. On the other hand, none of the authors I have met with, that ſpeak of their way of preſerving locuſts in the Eaſt, ſo far as I at preſent recollect, give any account of drying them in the ſun. They are, according to Pellow, firſt purged with water and ſalt, boiled in new pickle, and then laid up in dry ſalt [7]. So Dr. Ruſſell ſays the Arabs eat theſe inſects when freſh, and alſo *ſalt them* up as a delicacy [8].

[4] Let. 11. p. 110. [5] Adventures of Thomas Pellow, p. 121. [6] In Vita Malchi Monachi. [7] P. 333. [8] P. 62.

Their

Their *immenſe quantities* alſo forbad the Biſhop's believing they were quails. And in truth, he repreſents this difficulty in all its force, perhaps too forcibly. A circle of forty miles in diameter, all covered with quails, to the depth of more than forty-three inches, without doubt is a ſtartling repreſentation of this matter; and I would beg leave to add, that the like quantity of locuſts would have been *very extraordinary*. But then this is not the repreſentation of Scripture. It doth not even agree with it: for ſuch a quantity of either quails or locuſts would have made the clearing places for the ſpreading them out, and the paſſing of Iſrael up and down in the neighbourhood of the camp, very fatiguing; which is not ſuppoſed.

Joſephus ſuppoſed they were quails, which, he ſays [9], are in *greater numbers* thereabouts than any other kind of bird; and that having croſſed the ſea to the camp of Iſrael, they, who in common fly nearer the ground than moſt other birds, flew ſo low, through the fatigue of their paſſage, as to be within reach of the Iſraelites. This explains what he thought was meant by *the two cubits from the face of the earth*—their flying within three or four feet of the ground.

And when I read Dr. Shaw's account of the way in which the Arabs *frequently* catch birds that they have tired, that is, by running in upon them, and knocking them down

[9] Antiq. lib. 3. cap. 1.

with

with their *zerwattys*, or bludgeons, as we ſhould call them [10], I think I almoſt ſee the Iſraelites before me, purſuing the poor fatigued and languid quails.

This is indeed a laborious method of catching theſe birds, and not that which is now uſed in Ægypt; for Egmont and Heyman tell us, that in a walk on the ſhore of Ægypt they ſaw a ſandy plain, ſeveral leagues in extent, and covered with reeds, without the leaſt verdure, between which reeds they ſaw many *nets* placed for catching *quails*, which come over in large flights from Europe, during the month of September [11]. If the ancient Ægyptians made uſe of the ſame method of catching quails that they now practiſe on thoſe ſhores, yet Iſrael in the wilderneſs, without theſe conveniences, muſt of courſe make uſe of that more inartificial and laborious way of catching them. The Arabs of Barbary, who have not many conveniences, do the ſame thing ſtill.

Biſhop Patrick ſuppoſes a day's journey to be ſixteen or twenty miles, and thence draws his circle with a radius of that length; but Dr. Shaw, on another occaſion, makes a day's journey but ten miles [12], which would make a circle but of twenty miles diameter; and as the text evidently deſigns to expreſs

[10] P. 236. In which account the Doctor mentions the quail along with the woodcock, the rhaad, the kitawiah, and the partridge. [11] Vol. 2. p. 206, 207. [12] P. 319.

it

it very indeterminately, *as it were a day's journey*, it might be much leſs.

But it doth not appear to me at all neceſſary to ſuppoſe the text intended their covering a circular, or nearly a circular ſpot of ground, but only that theſe creatures appeared on *both ſides* of the camp of Iſrael, about a day's journey. The ſame word is uſed Exod. vii. 24, where round about can mean only *on each ſide* of the Nile. And ſo it may be a *little* illuſtrated by what Dr. Shaw tells us, of the three flights of ſtorks which he ſaw when at anchor under Mount Carmel, ſome of which were more ſcattered, others more compact and cloſe, each of which took up *more than three hours* in paſſing, and extended itſelf *more than half a mile* in breadth [13]. Had this flight of quails been no greater than theſe, it might have been thought, like them, to have been accidental; but ſo unuſual a flock as to extend *fifteen or twenty miles in breadth*, and to be *two days and one night in paſſing*, and this, in conſequence of the declaration of Moſes, plainly determined that the finger of God was there.

A third thing which was a difficulty with the Biſhop, was their being brought with a *wind*. An hot ſoutherly wind, it is ſuppoſed, brings the locuſts; and why quails might not be brought by the inſtrumentality of a like wind, or what difficulty there is in that ſuppoſition, I cannot

[13] P. 409.

imagine.

imagine. As ſoon as the *cold* is felt in Europe, Maillet tells us [14], turtles, quails, and other birds, come to Ægypt in great numbers; but he obſerved that their numbers were not ſo large in thoſe years in which the winters were favourable in Europe; from whence he conjectured, that it is rather neceſſity than habit which cauſes them to change their climate: if ſo, it ſhould ſeem that it is the *increaſing heat* that cauſes their return, and conſequently that the *hot* ſultry winds from the South muſt have a great effect upon them, to direct their flight Northwards.

It is certain, that it is about the time that the South-wind *begins* to blow in Ægypt, which is in April [15], that many of theſe migratory birds return. Maillet, who joins quails and turtles together, and ſays that they appear in Ægypt when the cold begins to be felt in Europe, doth not indeed tell us when they return; but Thevenot may be ſaid to do it, for after he had told his reader that they catch ſnipes in Ægypt from January to March, he adds, that in May they catch turtles, which turtles return again in September [16]: now as they go together Southward in September, we may believe they return again Northward much about the ſame time. Agreeably to which Ruſſell tells us,

[14] Let. 9. p. 21. Let. 11. p. 109, 110.

[15] Maillet, Let. 2. p. 57, and

[16] Part 1. p. 247.

that

that quails appear in abundance about Aleppo in *ſpring* and autumn [17].

If Natural Hiſtory were more perfect, we might ſpeak to this point with greater diſtinctneſs; at preſent, however, it is ſo far from being an objection to their being quails *that their coming was cauſed by a wind*, that nothing is more natural. The ſame wind would, in courſe, occaſion ſickneſs and mortality among the Iſraelites, at leaſt it doth ſo in Ægypt [18]. The miraculouſneſs then in this ſtory doth not lie in their dying, but the Prophet's *foretelling with exactneſs* the coming of that wind; and in the *prodigious* numbers of the quails that came with it; together with the unuſualneſs of the place, perhaps, where they alighted [19].

Nothing more remains to be conſidered, but the gathering ſo large a quantity as ten Homers by thoſe that gathered feweſt. But till that quantity is more preciſely aſcertained, it is ſufficient to remark, that this is only affirmed of thoſe *eager* and expert ſportſmen among the people, who purſued the game *two whole days and one whole night without intermiſſion*; and of them, and of them only, I preſume it is to be underſtood, that he that gathered feweſt, gathered ten homers [20].

OBSER-

[17] P. 64. [18] Maillet, Lett. 2. p. 57, Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2. p. 62. [19] Shaw, p. 449.
[20] Haſſelquiſt, who frequently expreſſes himſelf in the moſt dubious manner in relation to theſe animals, at other times

is

OBSERVATION XXVIII. XV.

Iſrael had been viſited before this by a flock of quails [1], though not near ſo numerous at that at Kibroth-Hattaavah: this fell out in the wilderneſs of Sin, about a month after their coming out of Ægypt, until which time it ſeems the *dough*, or *corn*, which they brought with them, laſted. This leads us to ſome other remarks.

The dough, we are told, which the Iſraelites had prepared for baking, and on which it ſhould ſeem they ſubſiſted after they left Ægypt for a month, was carried away by them in their *kneading-troughs* on their ſhoulders, Exod. xii. 34. Now an honeſt thoughtful countryman, who knows how *cumberſome* our kneading-troughs are, and how much *leſs important* they are than many other uten-

is very poſitive, that if they were *birds* at all, they were a ſpecies of the quail *different from ours*, which he deſcribes as very much reſembling "the red partridge, but as not "being larger than the turtle-dove." To this he adds, that the Arabians carry *thouſands* of them to Jeruſalem about Whitſuntide, to ſell there, p. 442. In another place he tells us, it is found in Judæa, as well as Arabia Petræa; and that he found it betwixt Jordan and Jericho, p. 203. One would imagine, that Haſſelquiſt means the *kata*, which is deſcribed by Dr. Ruſſell, p. 64, 65, and which he repreſents as brought to market at Aleppo in great numbers, in May and June, though they are to be met with in all ſeaſons. An whole aſs-load of them, he informs us, has often been taken at once ſhutting a claſp-net, in the above-mentioned months, they are in ſuch plenty.]

[1] Exod. 16. 1, 8, 13.

ſils,

fils, may be ready to wonder at this, and find a difficulty in accounting for it. But this wonder perhaps may ceaſe, when he comes to underſtand, that the veſſels which the Arabs of that country make uſe of, for kneading the unleavened cakes they prepare for thoſe that travel in this very deſert, are only ſmall wooden bowls [2]; and that they ſeem to uſe no other in their own tents [3] for that purpoſe, or any other, theſe bowls being uſed by them for kneading their bread, and afterwards ſerving up their proviſions when cooked [4]: for then it will appear, that nothing could be more convenient than kneading-troughs of this ſort for the Iſraelites, in their journey.

I am, however, a little doubtful, whether theſe were the things that Moſes meant by that word which our verſion renders kneading-troughs; ſince it ſeems to me, that the Iſraelites had made a proviſion of corn ſufficient for their conſumption for about a month, and that they were preparing to bake *all* this at once: now their own little wooden bowls, in which they were wont to knead the bread they wanted for a *ſingle day*, could not contain all this dough, nor could they well carry a *number* of theſe things, borrowed of the Ægyptians for the preſent occaſion, with them.

[2] See Shaw's Pref. p. 11, 12. [3] Shaw, p. 231.
[4] Shaw's Pref. p. 12.

That

That they had furniſhed themſelves with corn ſufficient for a *month*, appears from their not wanting bread till they came into the wilderneſs of Sin; that the Eaſtern people commonly bake their bread *daily*, as they want it, appears from an Obſervation I made in the fourth Chapter, and from the hiſtory of the Patriarch Abraham; and that they were preparing to bake bread ſufficient for this purpoſe at once, ſeems moſt probable, from the *univerſal buſtle* they were in, and from the *much greater conveniences* for baking in Ægypt than in the wilderneſs, which are ſuch, that though Dr. Shaw's attendants ſometimes baked in the deſert, he thought fit, notwithſtanding, to carry biſcuit with him [5], and Thevenot the ſame [6].

They could not then *well* carry ſuch a quantity of *dough* in thoſe *wooden bowls*, which they uſed for kneading their bread in common. What is more, Dr. Pococke tells us [7], that the Arabs *actually carry their dough in ſomething elſe*: for, after having ſpoken of their copper diſhes put one within another, and their wooden bowls, in which they make their bread, and which make up all the kitchen-furniture of an Arab, even where he is ſettled; he gives us a deſcription of a round leather coverlid, which they lay on the ground, and ſerves them to eat off, which,

[5] Pref. p. 11. [6] Part 1. p. 178. [7] In his account of the diet and utenſils of the inhabitants of Ægypt, vol. 1. p. 182, &c.

he ſays, has rings round it, by which it is drawn together with a chain, that has a hook to it to hang it by. This is drawn together, he ſays, and ſometimes they carry in it their *meal made into dough*; and in this manner they bring it full of bread, and, when the repaſt is over, carry it away at once, with all that is left.

Whether *this utenſil* is rather to be underſtood by the word tranſlated kneading-troughs, than the Arab *wooden bowl*, I leave to my reader to determine. I would only remark, that there is nothing, in the other three places in which the word occurs, to contradict this explanation. Theſe places are Exod. viii. 3, Deut. xxviii. 5, 17, in the two laſt of which places it is tranſlated ſtore.

It is more than a little aſtoniſhing to find Grotius, in his comment on Exod. xii. 39, explaining that verſe as ſignifying that they baked no bread in their departing from Ægypt, but ſtayed till they came to Succoth, becauſe they had not time to ſtay till it was leavened in Ægypt; when it is certain they were ſo hurried out of Ægypt, as to be deſired not to ſtay to bake even *unleavened* bread; nor can we imagine they would ſtay till leaven put into it at Succoth had produced its effect in their dough, ſince travellers now in that deſert often eat unleavened bread, and the precepts of Moſes, relating to the *commemoration* of their going out of Ægypt,

gypt, ſuppoſe they eat unleavened bread for ſome time.

Succoth, the firſt ſtation then of the Iſraelites, which Dr. Shaw ſuppoſes [8] was nothing more than ſome conſiderable incampment of Arabs, muſt have been a place where there was a *conſiderable quantity of broom*, or *other fuel*, which is not to be found in that deſert every where.

Observation XXIX.

[The Prophet Ezekiel repreſents an eagle as flying to the cedars of Lebanon [1]; and it ſhould ſeem there is a foundation *in nature* for the joining this bird and theſe trees together.

It is not to be expected that the viſionary repreſentations made to the Prophets ſhould *always* coincide with Natural Hiſtory, but it ſeems this doth. "We employed the reſt "of the day," ſays la Roque, in ſpeaking of the ſpot where the cedars of Lebanon grow, "in attentively ſurveying the beauties "of this place, and of its neighbourhood, "in meaſuring ſome of the cedars, and in "cutting off many of their branches, with "their cones, which we ſent to Bſciarrai, "with a number of large *eagle's feathers*, "which were found in the ſame place [2]."]

[8] P. 308. [1] Ezek. 17. 3. [2] Voy. de Syrie & du Mont-Liban. p. 88.

XVI. OBSERVATION XXX.

Dr. Shaw tells us [1], that in Barbary, when the grain is winnowed, they lodge it in *mattamores*, or *ſubterraneous repoſitories*; *two* or *three hundred* of which are ſometimes *together*, the ſmalleſt holding four hundred buſhels. Theſe are very common in other parts of the Eaſt, and are in particular mentioned by Dr. Ruſſell [2], as being in great numbers near Aleppo, about the villages, which makes travelling there in the night very dangerous, the entry into them being often left open when they are empty.

The like method, it ſhould ſeem, of keeping corn obtains in the Holy-Land: for le Bruyn ſpeaks of deep pits at Rama, which he was told were deſigned for corn [3]; and Rauwolff talks of three very large vaults at Joppa, actually uſed for the laying up grain when he was there [4]. The treaſures *in the field* of *wheat*, and of *barley*, of *oil*, and of *honey*, which the ten men propoſed to Iſhmael as a ranſom for their lives, Jer. xli. 8, were doubtleſs laid up in the ſame kind of repoſitories.

Dr. Shaw only ſpeaks of the Arabs hiding *corn* in theſe mattamores; but as theſe ten Jews mentioned their having honey and oil in theſe repoſitories, ſo the author of the Hiſtory of the Piratical States of Barbary tells us [5], that it is *uſual* with the Arabs,

[1] P. 139. [2] P. 18. [3] Vol. 2. p. 149, 150.
[4] Tome 1. p. 227. [5] P. 57.

when

when they expect the armies of Algiers, to ſecure their corn *and other effects that are not portable*, in ſubterraneous repoſitories, wandering about with their flocks, till the troops are returned to their quarters.

After this, the remark on this paſſage of Jeremiah in the Aſſembly's annotations muſt extremely hurt a reader, and the more when we conſider it as the note of ſo conſiderable a man as Gataker. "I cannot aſſent to "that learned interpreter, who rendereth the "word, We have treaſures hidden in a cer- "tain field: for howſoever the term "here uſed ſprings from a root that ſignifies "to hide, and treaſures are ſaid ſometimes "to be hidden, Eſay xlv. 3; yet the word "in general ſignifies treaſures, or ſtores, "whether hidden or other, Gen. xliii. 23. "*Nor is it probable* that *ſuch ſtores as theſe*, of "ſo *many ſorts*, ſhould be hidden *under ground* "in ſome *one part* of a field; and much leſs "that *all ten* ſhould *ſo beſtow* their ſtores in "any one place."

He objects to the hiding *under ground*, when theſe ſubterraneous repoſitories are ſo common; to the laying up there *ſo many ſorts* of things, when every thing *not portable* is wont to be put into them; he cannot think that *ten* men ſhould ſo beſtow their goods, in any one place, when it appears from Shaw that two or three hundred mattamores are ſometimes together; in one word, Gataker, the *very learned* Gataker, ſuppoſed

that to be *highly* improbable, which was perfectly according to the cuſtom of the Eaſt [6], and *eſpecially* in a time of difficulty and depredation, as that moſt certainly was. A ſtriking proof this, ſure! of the importance of attending to the remaining cuſtoms of Eaſtern antiquity, in a commentator on the Scriptures.

Pitts, who mentions theſe ſubterraneous barns, telleth us, that they put *ſtraw at the bottom and ſides* of theſe places; nevertheleſs, he gives us to underſtand, that though by this artful concealment of it their corn is preſerved, when they are put to flight by the Bey, it is much *damnified*, being kept in ſo damp a place inſtead of a barn [7].

Be it ſo: the danger of being robbed by the roving troops of people that ſcoured the country at that time, was a ſufficient cauſe to induce theſe ten men to hide their wheat, their barley, their oil, and their honey, in the ground. Dr. Shaw, however, doth not acquieſce in this as the cauſe of this management, though Hirtius long ago ſuppoſed it was, but thought it more probable that they were contrived in thoſe earlier ages, as they continue to be uſed to this day, for the greater eaſe and convenience of the inhabitants; for

[6 So Sir J. Chardin tells us, in a note on Jer. 41. 8, that *the Eaſtern people in many places hide their corn thus, as I have ſeen in an hundred places of Turkey. In many they alſo bury their wine. This is done in the neighbourhood of the villages, and deſigned both to prevent their enemies finding theſe things, and alſo their Great People that might paſs that way, who would not pay them* [for what they took.] 7 P. 34.

it

it cannot be ſuppoſed, he ſays, that either the ancient Nomades, or the preſent Arabs, would be at the expenſe of erecting ſtore-houſes of ſtone, when they could, at a much cheaper rate, and at every ſtation, where they are encamped to gather in their harveſt, be ſerved with theſe [8].

This reaſoning from the expenſe being leſs, would certainly be concluſive, were it not for the account of Pitts, relating to the injury the corn is wont to receive by being buried, of which Shaw takes no notice. Perhaps then to account for the uſe of theſe ſubterraneous barns in times or places of ſafety, we are to have recourſe to what ſome travellers aſſure us is fact—that the corn of thoſe countries is ſubject to be eaten by *worms* if kept in the open air [9], which, with the cheapneſs of making theſe repoſitories, may be thought a ſufficient balance againſt the injury it receives by being buried.

Observation XXXI. XVII.

Bats, and other vermin, haunt old ruinated places. So Thevenot, deſcribing the open pyramid, tells us, there were a great many bats in it, which ſometimes put out

[8] P. 139, 140. [9] See Sandys, p. 117. Fulcherius Carnotenſis mentions the ſame thing. Geſta Dei per Francos, p. 427.

the candles which are made uſe of in examining that moſt ancient building; that a particular hole which he deſcribes had a great quantity of their dung in it; and that they ſo ſwarmed there, that a Scotch gentleman, who was in the company, and ſeems alone to have had the courage to go down into it, was afraid he ſhould have been eaten up by them [1].

Egmont and Heyman mention the ſame circumſtance, but enrich their account with the addition of owls, *ſnakes*, and other reptiles; for which reaſon they thought it neceſſary to fire off ſome piſtols before they ventured into the pyramid, theſe creatures being by that means frightened away to their lurking places [2].

I don't know how accurate they are in mentioning ſnakes in the pyramid; but it is certain, in buildings more ruinated than that, ſuch dangerous kinds of reptiles are very common; ſo that Rauwolff in his account of Babylon tells us, ſome of its ruins are ſo full of vermin, that have *bored holes* through them, that one may not come near them within half a mile, but only two months in the winter, when they come not out of their *holes* [3].

Are we not rather to underſtand the words of the Prophet Iſaiah, ch. ii. 20, which ſeem to ſignify *diggers of holes*, of this ſort of ani-

[1] Part 1. p. 132. 133. [2] Vol. 2. p. 87. [3] Ray's Travels, tome 1. p. 165.

mals

mals rather than of moles, which a ſingle Hebrew term is ſuppoſed to expreſs, Lev. xi. 30, and which have no connexion, that I know of, with ruins? For the thought of the Prophet ſeems to me to be, that the inhabitants of that country were to go into the holes of the rocks, and into the caves of the earth, to hide themſelves from the vengeance of the Lord, to be executed by hoſtile armies [4], leaving their temples with their idols in them to be demoliſhed by their hands; in which ſtate of deſolation theſe idols ſhould long lay, companions of thoſe animals that are wont to bore holes in ruins, and alſo of bats, the frequenters of ſuch deſtroyed places, not that they were to carry their idols into caves and holes of the earth to ſecrete them from their enemies.

Observation XXXII. XVIII.

The birds pillage the granary of Joſeph extremely, where the corn of Ægypt is depoſited that is paid as a tax to the Grand Signior, for it is quite uncovered at the top, there being little or no rain in that country; its doors however are kept carefully *ſealed*, but its inſpectors do not make uſe of wax upon this occaſion, but put their ſeal upon an handful of clay, with which they cover the lock of the door [1]. This ſerves inſtead

[4] 1 Sam. 13. 6. [1] Norden, part 1. p. 72. Dr. Pococke gives a ſimilar account, only ſays the corn is covered with matting, vol. 1. p. 26.

of

of wax; and it is visible, things of the greatest value might be safely sealed up in the same manner.

Had Junius known this circumstance, or had he at least reflected on it, he would not perhaps have explained Job xxxviii. 14, "It "is turned as clay to the seal," of the potters adorning clay with various paintings, or *various embossings*[2]; especially had he considered, that the productions of the wheel of the potter, in the age and the country of Job, were, in all probability, very clumsy, unadorned things, since even still in Ægypt, the ancient source of arts, the ewer, which is made, according to Norden[3], very clumsy, is one of the best pieces of earthen ware that they have there, all the art of the potter, in that country, consisting in an ability to make some *vile* pots or dishes, without varnish.

XIX. Observation XXXIII.

As they use not wax in sealing up doors, but clay, so they use *ink*, not wax, in sealing their writings in the East. So d'Arvieux tells us[1], that "the Arabs of the desert, "when they want a favour of their Emir, "get his Secretary to write an order agree- "able to their desire, as if the favour was "granted: this they carry to the Prince,

[2] Vide Poli Syn. in loc. [3] Part 1. p. 82. [1] Voy. dans la Pal. p. 154.

"who,

" who, after having read it, ſets his ſeal " to it with *ink*, if he grants it; if not, " he returns the petitioner his paper torn, " and diſmiſſes him." In another place he informs us, that " theſe papers are without " date, and have only the Emir's flouriſh " or cypher at the bottom, ſignifying, *The* " *poor, the abject Mehemet, ſon of Turabeye*[2]."

Two things appear in theſe paſſages. The one, that the Arab ſeals have no figure engraven on them, but a ſimple inſcription, formed, with ſome art, into a kind of cypher; the other, that when they ſeal, they do not make an impreſſion on wax, but ſtamp letters of ink on the paper.

The modern inhabitants of Ægypt appear to make uſe of *ink* in their ſealing, as well as the Arabs of the deſert, who may be ſuppoſed not to have ſuch conveniences as thoſe that live in ſuch a place as Ægypt: for Dr. Pococke ſaith[3], that " they make the " impreſſion of their name with their ſeal, " generally of cornelian, which they wear " on their finger, and which is blacked " when they have occaſion to ſeal with it."

This may ſerve to ſhew us, that there is a cloſer connexion between the viſion of St. John, Rev. vii. 2, and that of Ezekiel, ch. ix. 2, than commentators appear to have apprehended. They muſt be joined, I imagine, to have a compleat view of either.

[2] P. 61. [3] Vol. 1. p. 186, Notes.

St.

St. John ſaw an Angel with the *ſeal* of the living God, and therewith multitudes were ſealed in their *foreheads*; but to underſtand *what ſort of mark* was made there, you muſt have recourſe to the *inkhorn* of Ezekiel. On the other hand, Ezekiel ſaw a perſon equipped with an *inkhorn*, who was to mark the ſervants of God on their foreheads, with *ink* that is, but how the ink was to be *applied* is not expreſſed; nor was there any need that it ſhould, if in thoſe times ink was applied with a ſeal: a ſeal being in the one caſe plainly ſuppoſed; as in the Apocalypſe, the mention of a ſeal made it needleſs to take any notice of an inkhorn by his ſide.

This *poſition* of the inkhorn of Ezekiel's writer may appear ſomewhat odd to an European reader, but the cuſtom of placing it by the ſide continues in the Eaſt to this day. Olearius, who takes notice [4] of a way that they have of thickening their ink with a ſort of paſte they make, or with ſticks of Indian ink, which is the beſt paſte of all, a circumſtance favourable to their ſealing with ink, obſerves [5], that the Perſians carry about with them, by means of their girdles, a dagger, a knife, an handkerchief, and their money; and thoſe that follow the profeſſion of writ-

[4] Voy. en Moſcovie &c, p. 857. [5] P. 817. Dr. Shaw alſo ſpeaks of their writers ſuſpending their inkhorns by their ſide. I ſhould not therefore have taken any notice of this circumſtance, had not the account of Olearius led us to ſomething farther.

ing

ing out books, their *inkhorn*, their penknife, their whetſtone to ſharpen it, their letters, and every thing the Moſcovites were wont *in his time* to put in their *boots*, which ſerved them inſtead of pockets. The Perſians, in carrying their inkhorn after this manner, ſeem to have retained a cuſtom as ancient as the days of Ezekiel; while the Moſcovites, whoſe garb was very much in the *Eaſtern taſte* in the days of Olearius, and who had many *oriental* cuſtoms among them, carried their inkhorns and their papers in a very different manner. Whether ſome ſuch variation might cauſe the Ægyptian tranſlators of the Septuagint verſion to render the words, *a girdle of ſapphire, or embroidery on the loins*, I will not take upon me to affirm; but I do not imagine our Dr. Caſtell would have adopted this ſentiment in his Lexicon [6], had he been aware of this Eaſtern cuſtom: for with great propriety is the word Keſeth mentioned in this chapter three times, if it ſignified an inkhorn, the requiſite inſtrument for ſealing thoſe devout mourners; but no account can be given why this Keſeth ſhould be mentioned ſo often, if it only ſignified an embroidered girdle.

As to the other point relating to the Arab ſeals—their having no figures upon them, only an inſcription, it is to be thought that thoſe of the Jews were in like manner with-

[6] See Lowth upon the place.

out any images, ſince they were as ſcrupulous as the Mohammedans can be; and from hence it will appear, that it was extremely natural for St. Paul to make a ſeal and an inſcription equivalent terms, in 2 Tim. ii. 19: "The foundation of God ſtandeth "ſure, having this ſeal, (this inſcription,) "The Lord knoweth thoſe that are his; and "let every one that nameth the name of "Chriſt depart from iniquity."

XX. OBSERVATION XXXIV.

We have frequently had occaſion to ſpeak of corn in the courſe of theſe papers, but I have, however, never yet taken notice of the way of reaping it, which, according to an obſervation made by Mr. Maundrell, in his return from Jeruſalem [1], is performed in the Eaſt, by *plucking it up* by handfuls from the roots, leaving the moſt fruitful fields as naked as if nothing had grown there. This was their practice, he ſaith, in all places of the Eaſt which he had ſeen, and from thence he concludes that our old verſion of Pſ. cxxix. 6, "*Which withereth afore it be plucked up,*" in which there ſeems to be a manifeſt alluſion to this cuſtom, is better than our new tranſlation.

I cannot however, I confeſs, be of the opinion of this very ingenious author in this

[1] P. 144.

point:

point: becauſe the Hebrew word which is commonly uſed for reaping, doth by no means ſignify plucking up, but *ſhortening*, which is moſt naturally explained by *cutting*; and I have no where remarked the idea of plucking up, applied to the reaping of their corn, unleſs we are to underſtand this paſſage ſo, for the original word, uſed by the Pſalmiſt, appears no where elſe but in the ſenſe of *unſheathing* a ſword, and *drawing off* a ſhoe. I am therefore at a loſs to judge on what grounds Maundrell ſo much prefers the old tranſlation, unleſs we are to aſcribe it to his being ſtruck, at his firſt arrival in thoſe countries, with their manner of reaping, and that, recollecting this old tranſlation, he was pleaſed with the thought, and gave himſelf no trouble to examine it. The idea of the Pſalmiſt in reality ſeems to be, "Which withereth "before it unſheaths it's ear."

When Mr. Maundrell made this obſervation, he had ſeen no great part of theſe countries; though therefore then he had always ſeen them plucking up their harveſt, it does not follow that it is univerſally their way, much leſs that it was ſo anciently. It is allowed that it is *now* very common in the Eaſt, it is not however *univerſal:* for though Dr. Pococke found it was plucked up in the neighbourhood of Damaſcus[2]; yet a few days after, upon his leaving Hems, (the an-

[2] Vol. 2. p. 130.

cient

cient Emesa,) he found they *reaped* their corn in those parts, and he expressly remarks the difference that obtained between these two places[3]. So Dr. Russell, in his description of Aleppo and its neighbourhood, tells us[4], the corn is *sometimes cut down*, though more *frequently plucked up*: "As soon as it "is cut down, or rather plucked up, (for "this is their more usual way,) it is carried "to some neighbouring spot of hard even "ground, &c." Maundrell was Chaplain to the English factory at Aleppo, near which, according to Russell, both ways are made use of; but we are to remember his book was drawn up presently after his arrival there, and his observation therefore by no means to be opposed to Russell's account.

Both ways then are in use in the Levant at this time; and from what has been said, we are led to conclude, the *old Jewish* way was *in common* to cut down. To which may be added, that we read of a sickle for reaping, in no fewer than four different places, Deut. xvi. 9, Ch. xxiii. 25, Jer. l. 16, Joel iii. 13, which confirms the conjecture drawn from the sense of the word used to express reaping; and when in the second of these we find an opposition made between *plucking the ears with the hand*, and *moving a sickle* into a neighbour's standing-corn, the first permitted, and the other forbidden, just as im-

[3] P. 142. [4] P. 18.

mediately

mediately before they were permitted to eat what they pleaſed of the grapes of a neighbour's vineyard, but not to put any in a veſſel, one can hardly imagine that reaping was *ever* performed in the days of Moſes, in Ægypt or Canaan, by *plucking up*.

Observation XXXV.

[Dandini ſeems to have been ſurprized to ſee *oxen* employed to carry burdens upon their backs, like camels, mules, and aſſes, ſuch as wood, and other neceſſaries, when he was making his obſervations on the cuſtoms of the Eaſt, at Tripoly of Syria, contrary to the old ſaying,

Optat ephippia bos piger, optat arare caballus [1].

And he repeats the ſame remarks in the cloſe of this account [2].

But it appears from 1 Chron. xii. 40, that it was an ancient, as it is a modern, Eaſtern practice: "Moreover, they that were nigh "them, even unto Iſſachar, and Zebulon, "and Napthali, brought bread on aſſes, "and on camels, and on mules, and *on* "*oxen*, and meat, meal, cakes of figs, &c."]

[1] Ch. 6. [2] "We ſaw there (*Alexandretta* or *Scan-*"*daroon*) oxen and bufflers carry burdens upon their "backs, as mules and horſes do in *Italy*."

XXI. OBSERVATION XXXVI.

About the time that they repair to the gardens at Aleppo [1], they began to lead out the cattle to feed in the *common paſtures* of Judæa, thoſe that tended them dwelling in huts, which they erected for that purpoſe; for the old Jewiſh writers tell us, that this was done about the time of the Paſſover [2], which fell out generally ſome time in April.

This account agrees with that circumſtance the Prophet mentions, Amos vii. 1, of the appearance of locuſts which he ſaw, in viſion, devouring the graſs of the land, "in the beginning of the ſhooting up of "the latter growth, and lo, it was the lat-"ter growth after the *king's mowings*." This, however, doth not immediately appear; and ſome miſtakes relating to this text ought to be rectified.

Shaw obſerves [3], and other authors confirm it, that hay is ſeldom, if ever, made in thoſe countries. Our tranſlators then are out, in making uſe of that word *hay* in ſome parts of their verſion; and, on the ſame ground, the term *mowings* in this text cannot be proper. The famous Mercer ſuppoſes [4], the *latter growth* ſignifies the graſs that ſprung up after mowing, or *feeding it down*; and I preſume the Hebrew word tranſlated mow-

[1] See Obſerv. XII. [2] Gem. Nedarim 63. apud Rel. Antiq. Sac. [3] P. 138. [4] Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

ing,

ing, may ſignify feeding down, as well as cutting down with a ſcythe, and *doth ſo ſignify*, ſince it is not the uſage of the Eaſt to make hay. The *king's mowings* then ſhould be rendered the *king's feedings* in the firſt place.

In the next, there is reaſon to conjecture, from the following paſſage of la Roque [5], that the time of the king's feedings was the month of *March*, or thereabouts: "The "Arabs," he tells us, from the papers of d'Arvieux, "turn their horſes out to graſs the "month of *March*, when the graſs is pretty "well grown; they then take care to have "their mares covered, and they eat graſs at "no other time in the whole year, any more "than hay: they never give them any ſtraw "but to heat them, when they have been "ſome time without diſcovering an inclina-"tion to drink; they live wholly upon bar-"ley."

The Arab horſes are all deſigned for *riding* and *war*; ſo, there is reaſon to believe, were thoſe of the kings of Iſrael [6]: and if the preſent uſages of the Arabs prevailed anciently, they were turned out early in the ſpring, in the month of March, and at other times were nouriſhed with barley. Theſe things ſeem to determine the time of the king's

[5] Voy. dans la Pal. p. 168. [6] Dr. Ruſſell tells us the plowing of Syria is performed often by a little cow, at moſt with two, and ſometimes only by an aſs, p. 16. Carriages alſo were anciently drawn by cows, 1 Sam. 6. 7.

feedings to *March*, of the ſhooting up of the latter growth to *April*.

This laſt circumſtance is confirmed by the *locuſts*, mentioned by the Prophet, which appear in the Holy-Land in *April* and *May*[7]; for though our tranſlators here call them graſshoppers, and green worms in the margin, the word is elſewhere by them rendered locuſts, (Iſ. xxxiii. 4,) and it appears by the miſchief they did, that *they were really* inſects of that kind.

The horſes of the powerful Kings of Iſrael were very numerous, as appears by the account we have of Solomon's. Uzziah and Jeroboam, in whoſe time Amos propheſied, were very powerful Princes. They appear to have been very careful of them, as we may collect from Ahab's great concern, in a time of drought, to get graſs for the horſes and mules, when nothing is ſaid about his ſolicitude for other cattle. Where ſhould theſe horſes, kept for the defence of the kingdom, be put to graſs, but in the common paſtures, during the month of March? A prohibition to the ſubjects to turn in their flocks and their herds, till this time was paſt, was natural.

Theſe things, put together, place the whole in a very eaſy light; as well as ſhew the extreme impropriety of the interpretation of Vatablus, who imagines this latter

[7] Geſta Dei per Francos, p. 424. See alſo Obſ. XXVIII, of Ch. 3.

growth

growth refers to the ſpringing of the graſs afreſh, upon the falling of the rain in *autumn*. Locuſts are not wont, I think, to appear at that time; and if they had, the loſs of feed would have been little or nothing to the inhabitants, according to theſe old Jewiſh writers, for they affirm, that on the falling of the firſt rains the herds returned home: whereas we are to ſuppoſe the viſion of Amos repreſented to him the coming of locuſts to eat up the feed, as ſoon as the king's horſes were withdrawn, and the inhabitants hoped to enjoy the plenty of April and May, before the ſcorching heat of ſummer withered the graſs, at the end of the laſt of theſe months.

OBSERVATION XXXVII. XXII.

Jael certainly ſhewed her *regard* to Iſrael by deſtroying Siſera, but it is as certain that ſhe did not do it in the moſt honourable manner—there was treachery in it; perhaps, in the *eſtimation of thoſe people*, the *greateſt treachery*: for among the later Arabs, *the giving a perſon drink*, has been thought to be the ſtrongeſt aſſurance of their receiving them under their protection. If the ſame notion obtained anciently, Jael muſt in conſequence have been conſidered as extremely treacherous.

D'Herbelot occaſionally mentions this Arab point of honour, in p. 371; and more diſ-

tinctly in the articles of Harmozan and Saladine: in the laſt of which he telleth us, that when Guy de Luſignan, king of Jeruſalem, was taken priſoner, and was conducted before Saladine, he demanded drink, and they gave him freſh water, which he drank in Saladine's preſence; but when one of his lords would have done the ſame, Saladine would not *ſuffer it*, becauſe *he did not intend to ſpare his life*; on the contrary, advancing to him, after ſome expoſtulations, he cut off his head.

If this Arab cuſtom was in uſe among the Kenites (who were Arabs) in Siſera's time, her giving him drink was the ſtrongeſt aſſurance ſhe *could* give, that ſhe would protect him as far as ſhe could. The cuſtom however might *poſſibly* be later than her days.

XXIII. OBSERVATION XXXVIII.

Biſhop Patrick, in his commentary on 2 Sam. xviii. 17, which mentions the laying a great *heap of ſtones* upon Abſalom, obſerves that thus he was, after a ſort, ſtoned: as the law ordered a rebellious ſon to be. And that *Adricomius*, in his deſcription of the Holy-Land, ſaith that this heap remained to his days; and that all travellers, as they went by it, were wont to throw a ſtone to add to the heap, in deteſtation of his rebellion againſt his father.

And

And after this manner this Eaſtern cuſtom is, I think, commonly underſtood: but if it be true, which Egmont and Heyman tell us, that all the Mohammedans that go in pilgrimage to Mount Sinai, never fail to viſit the place where there is the print of a camel's foot on the rock, ſuppoſed to be that of Mohammed, on which account they, *by way of reſpect*, bring with them a ſtone, which has occaſioned a great *heap of ſtones* near that ſpot [1], it is evident that theſe heaps are conſidered by the Eaſtern people merely as monuments to keep up the memory of certain events, *good* as well as *bad*; and that the adding a ſtone to them, by every one that approaches them, is in truth only intended to prevent the diſſipation of theſe uncemented memorials.

The firſt raiſing this heap of ſtones over Abſalom was, in like manner, intended merely as a memorial of this battle, and of the place in which he laid buried; and by no means as a kind of executing the law relating to rebellious ſons upon him, like the hanging people in effigy: as we may conclude from their being wont then, as well as now, to have heaps of ſtones for the preſerving agreeable things in remembrance, as well as facts that deſerved deteſtation, which plainly appears from Joſh. iv. 3, 6 [2], and from Gen. xxxi. 46, 52.

[1] Vol. 2. p. 167. [2] See alſo Dr. Shaw's preface, p. 10.

[Wortley Montague, in the fifty-ſixth volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, has taken notice alſo of this, and the index of that volume very juſtly deſcribes it as a remarkable cuſtom of the Arabs. "The Arabs," ſaith that Gentleman, "when "they have any *ſtone*, or ſpot in veneration, "as Mahomet's ſtone, and the like, after "their devotion, lay ſome *ſmooth ſtone* upon "it." And he tells us, that the ſtone that Moſes ſtruck twice, being thus diſtinguiſhed by the Arabs, engaged his notice, as he was travelling in the deſerts of Arabia.

I would beg leave here to aſk, Was not this preciſely what was done to the ſtone ſet up by Jacob, in Mount Gilead, as a memorial of the covenant made between him and Laban, when he withdrew from Padan-aram, which is mentioned in the laſt-cited Scripture? I have ſometimes wondered, what induced Jacob to deſire his Syrian relations to *gather ſtones*, and make an heap, upon, or about, that *great ſtone* he had ſet up in memory of that covenant; but this account ſeems to decypher it: Jacob had not time, if he had proper tools with him, and ſkill ſufficient, to engrave the agreement on the great ſtone; but the placing theſe ſtones about it, informed every paſſenger it was ſet up in memory of ſomething of conſequence; and every relation that put one of theſe ſmaller ſtones on that Jacob ſet up, made himſelf a witneſs to the agreement,

as

as well as recommended it to the attention of others. It is in this light I now conſider this circumſtance, and it ſeems to be a natural explanation of Jacob's requeſt.]

OBSERVATION XXXIX. XXIV.

Commentators take no pains, that I know of, to account for that part of the puniſhment of the king of Moab's rebellion, "Ye "ſhall marr every *good piece of land* with "*ſtones*," though it doth not appear very eaſy to conceive how this was to be done to any purpoſe, and indeed without giving as much trouble, or more, to Iſrael to gather theſe ſtones, and carry them on their lands, as to the Moabites to gather them up again, and carry them off.

I would therefore propoſe it to the learned to conſider, whether we may not underſtand this of Iſrael's doing that nationally, and as victors, which was done by *private* perſons very frequently in theſe countries in ancient times, by way of revenge, and which is mentioned in ſome of the old Roman laws, I think, cited by Egmont and Heyman [1], who, ſpeaking of the contentions and vindictive temper of the Arabs, tell us, they were ignorant, however, *whether they ſtill retained the method of revenge formerly common among them, and which is called* σκοπελισμος, *men-*

[1] Vol. 2. p. 156.

tioned in lib. ff. Digeſt. de extraord. criminib. *which contains the following account.* In provincia *Arabia*, &c. That is, "*In the* "*province of Arabia there is a crime called* "σποπελισμος, *or fixing of ſtones; it being a fre-* "*quent practice among them, to place* ſtones *in* "*the* grounds *of thoſe with whom they are at* "*variance, as a warning, that any perſon* "*who dares to till that field, ſhould infallibly be* "*ſlain, by the contrivance of thoſe who placed* "*the ſtones there.*" *This malicious practice,* they add, *is thought to have had its origin in Arabia Petræa.*

If the Iſraelites, as victors, who could preſcribe what laws they thought proper to the conquered, placed ſuch *ſtones* in the beſt grounds of the Moabites, as interdicting them from tillage, on pain of their owners being deſtroyed, they without much trouble effectually marred ſuch fields, as long as their power over Moab laſted, which had before this continued ſome time, and by the ſuppreſſion of this rebellion might be ſuppoſed to continue long. As it was an ancient practice in theſe countries, might it not be ſuppoſed to be as ancient as the times of Eliſha, and that he referred to it?

[Perhaps the time to *caſt away ſtones*, and the time *to gather ſtones together*, mentioned by the Royal Preacher, Eccleſ. iii. 5, is to be underſtood, in like manner, of giving to nations with which there had been conteſts, the marks of *perfect reconciliation*, or continuing

nuing upon them ſome tokens of diſpleaſure and reſentment. If we ſuppoſe the latter part of the verſe is *exegetical* of the former, which the learned know is very common in the Hebrew poetry, it will better agree with this explanation, than with that which ſuppoſes the caſting away of ſtones means the *demoliſhing of houſes*, and the gathering them together the collecting them for *building*; ſince the *caſting away of ſtones* anſwers to *embracing*, in the latter part of the verſe, not to the *refraining* from embracing. It may be ſuppoſed indeed that a tranſpoſition might be intended, ſuch an one as appears in the eighth verſe; but it is to be obſerved, that the eighth verſe finiſhes this catalogue of different ſeaſons, and there is no tranſpoſition in the other particulars. To which may be added, that this explanation makes the caſting away of ſtones, and gathering them together, of the fifth verſe, preciſely the ſame thing with the *breaking down and building up* of the third: the ſuppoſing a greater variety of thought here will be no diſhonour to the royal poet.]

Observation XL. XXV.

When Norden was at Derri, in the fartheſt part of *Ægypt*, or rather in Nubia, in a very dangerous ſituation, from which he and his company endeavoured to extricate themſelves by exerting great ſpirit, a ſpiteful

and powerful Arab, in a threatening way, told one of their people, whom they ſent to him, *That he knew what ſort of people they were, that he had* conſulted his cup, *and had found* by it *that they were thoſe of whom one of their Prophets had ſaid, that Franks would come in diſguiſe, and paſſing every where, examine the ſtate of the country, and afterwards bring over a great number of other Franks, conquer the country, and exterminate all*[1].

No one, I imagine, ſuppoſeth that he meant any thing more by *conſulting his cup*, than we do when we talk of *conſulting our pillow*. Was it not however preciſely the ſame thing, that this Arab who lived in the confines of *Ægypt*, and Joſeph the *Ægyptian* Viceroy, meant, when the one talked of having *conſulted his cup*, and the other of *divining by it*, Gen. xliv. 5? It is certain, the Patriarch could not mean to make them believe the cup was, properly ſpeaking, an inſtrument of divination, becauſe he divined *without it*, and made out which way he had loſt it. May not both then be ſuppoſed to mean the alertneſs and penetration wine, taken in a proper quantity, gives the mind? It is certain, there is a great ſimilarity in theſe expreſſions, whatever be the preciſe meaning of the words of Joſeph.

[1] Vol. 2. p. 150.

OBSER-

OBSERVATION XLI. XXVI.

Genealogical tables were kept among the Jews with great exactneſs. Every perſon of learning however knows, that the great difference in this point between St. Matthew and St. Luke, who have each of them given us a genealogy of our Lord, has greatly embarraſſed the curious, and did ſo early [1]. But as in other caſes, what was at firſt thought an objection againſt the ſacred writer, has turned out in his favour, ſo doubtleſs will this when it be thoroughly cleared up. Time may perhaps do it; all *I* would attempt to ſhew here is, that there has been lately diſcovered an inſcription at Palmyra, which has *juſt the ſame difficulty*. He that clears up the *Syrian* difficulty, will, I preſume, clear up the *Sacred*. To which I would add, that it is to be remembered, that Palmyra was in the neighbourhood of Judæa, and the inſcriptions that are found there are about the apoſtolic age.

As to the inſcription I refer to, the ingenious editor of thoſe Ruins obſerved, that it was more difficult to underſtand than tranſlate it. "This," ſays he, "will appear "by rendering it literally, which is eaſieſt "done in Latin, thus: "*Senatus populuſque,* "*Alialamenem, Pani filium, Mocimi nepotem,*

[1] Vide Auguſt. Retract. lib. 2. cap. 7.

"*Æranis*

" *Æranis pronepotem, Mathæ abnepotem, &*
" *Æranem patrem ejus, viros pios & patriæ*
" *amicos, & omnimodi placentes patriæ patri-*
" *isque diis, honoris gratia anno* 450, *mense*
" *Aprili.*"

" Our difficulty is," continues he, " that " Æranes is called the father of Alialamenes, who [2] is called the son of Panus."

Mr. Wood, the editor, has given us the inscription, and remarked the difficulty; but he has not applied it to the genealogies of our Lord, where, just in the same manner, St. Matthew tells us, that Jacob begat Joseph, and St. Luke calls Joseph the son of Heli. There is something, without doubt, in these affairs particular to the East, which, however unknown to us, was common to the Jews and the people of Palmyra, and will, when properly explained, be a proof of the authenticity of these genealogies, instead of an objection.

I would not however be understood to *affirm*, that the true solution is unknown; possibly all that may be wanted, is the more *thoroughly* evincing the truth of it, and explaining the matter more *at large*.

Observation XLII.

[Every body almost knows, that it is usual, in Scripture language, to describe the qua-

[2] Alialamenes.

lities

lities or relations of a perſon, by calling him the *ſon* of ſuch and ſuch a thing; but people are not as generally aware, that it is uſual to point out the ſame by calling him the *father* of this and that thing; yet this is really the fact, and an attention to it is requiſite to a due underſtanding of ſome places of Scripture.

Dr. Shaw has mentioned this Eaſtern cuſtom, but he has not applied it: it will not be diſagreeable then to do it in theſe papers. Speaking of an African Marabbutt, or *Saint*, the Doctor tells us, that it was affirmed that "he had a ſolid iron bar, which, upon com-"mand, would give the ſame noiſe with a "cannon, and do the like execution." He then adds in a note: "This name, by in-"terpretation, is the *Son of a Gun*: ſeveral "perſons in that country having their *cog-"nomina* from ſome quality or other, for "which they are remarkable. Of this qua-"lity they are either called *Abbon*, i. e. Fa-"ther, or *Ibn*, *Ben*, i. e. Son of it. Thus a "fat man is called *Abbon Kerſh*, i. e. the "*Father of a Belly*, &c[1]."

It ſhould ſeem from hence to be a very *indifferent* thing, whether a perſon ſhould be denominated the *Son* or the *Father* of a thing, ſince if it was not ſo, one would have imagined he ſhould rather have been called the *Father of a Gun*, than the *Son of a Gun*; which yet, it ſeems, was his *cognomen*.

[1] P. 244.

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The knowledge of this Eaſtern cuſtom is of great conſequence, to illuſtrate one of the titles given the Meſſiah by the Prophet Iſaiah, ch. 9. 6—*the Everlaſting Father*. It may have given pain to ſome minds, very poſſibly, as if there was a ſort of improper confuſion of titles here, and that given to the Meſſiah, which was appropriate to the Firſt of the Sacred Three—*the Everlaſting Father*.

But this pain gradually wears off, as we find the original words are, the *Father of that which is everlaſting*; and afterwards find, that the Eaſtern people are wont to deſcribe any quality of a perſon by calling him the *Father of that quality*: Chriſt as the head, and introducer of an *Everlaſting Diſpenſation*, never to give place to another, was very naturally, in their ſtyle, called *the Father of Eternity*, or *the Father of that which is Everlaſting*; which our tranſlators render, perhaps a little unhappily, *the Everlaſting Father*. This is no *new* interpretation: the celebrated Vitringa, in his noble Commentary on this Prophet, explains the words, Pater Æternitatis, ſive *Conditor* Sæculi Æterni; that is, the *Father of Eternity, or, the Former of an Eternal Age*.

What is *new* here, is the bringing into view, *upon this occaſion*, the Eaſtern cuſtom, mentioned by Dr. Shaw, but not applied by him to the elucidation of any paſſage of Holy Writ, and alſo the *confirming* and *enlarging* the Doctor's account, by other examples,

amples, of an Oriental cuſtom not well known here in the Weſt, at leaſt not recollected as it ought to have been, the very induſtrious and curious *Vitringa* taking no notice of it in his remarks on this paſſage.

To the inſtance then mentioned by *Shaw*, I would add that of *Maillet*, who tells us that Ægypt is filled with *kites*, and that the *Arabs* call this bird the *Father of the Air*, to expreſs the excellency of his flying [2]; that of d'Herbelot, who tells us, that the Khalife Moaviah II, being of a very weak and infirm conſtitution, and unable often to appear in the day-time, was called Abou Leilah, that is, the *Father of the Night* [3]; and that other mentioned by the ſame writer [4], who, ſpeaking of a very eminent phyſician, ſays, he did ſuch admirable cures, that he was ſurnamed Aboul Berekiat, the *Father of Benedictions* [5].

Not very far remote from theſe inſtances is the *Arab* name of an African city, mentioned by Dr. Shaw, p. 109: called, it ſeems, *Boo Hadjar*, or, the *Father of a Stone*, that is, the *Stony City*. He alſo tells us of an Arabian *bird*, which is called *Ach Bobba*, which words, in the Turkiſh language, he

[2] Let. 9. p. 22. [3] P. 587. [4] P. 440. [5] So Schultens, in a note on the ſixth Arabian Aſſembly, tells us, that the principal leader of the Karegites, for twenty years, was called Abu Naâma, (which, I think, ſignifies *Father of the Oſtrich*,) from the *horſe* he uſed to ride on: called Naâma, becauſe in ſwiftneſs it exceeded an *oſtrich*, which, in Arabic, is Naâmah.

obſerves, ſignify *white father:* a name given it partly out of the *reverence* they have for it, partly from the *colour of it's plumage.*

Observation XLIII.

It appears that ſhe whom the Prophet Iſaiah married [1], and who was to be the mother of that child, before whoſe attaining the knowledge of good and evil, the two Kings of Syria and Iſrael were to be removed, was a *virgin,* and that there was ſomething *extraordinary* in that circumſtance.

It has been objected, what was there *extraordinary* in a virgin's marrying, and nine months after having a child?

Something, however, extraordinary is ſuppoſed here, but it may not be ſo eaſy to determine what.

Sir John Chardin, in his MS. note on Iſa. lxii. 5, "for as a young man mar-"rieth a *virgin,* ſo ſhall thy ſons marry "thee," tells us, that *it is the cuſtom in the Eaſt for youths that were never married always to marry virgins, and widowers, however young, to marry widows; and that Chriſtians hardly ever depart from this obſervation; ſo that widowers and widows intermarry as ſoon as they can, becauſe they cannot expect to marry any others, it not being the cuſtom there.*

If this cuſtom was as ancient as the days of Iſaiah, his marrying a *virgin* muſt have

[1] Iſ. 7. 14—16, ch. 8. 3, 4.

appeared *extraordinary:* ſince, as this was done in the time of Ahaz, whoſe father Jotham reigned ſixteen years, and Iſaiah began to propheſy in the time of Uzziah his grandfather, the Prophet could not have been very young at the time of this prediction on the one hand; and on the other, every body knows that the Eaſtern people, and none more than the Jews, married very early in life. Iſaiah muſt, according to this, be ſuppoſed to have been married before this time, and conſequently his marrying a *virgin* might appear particular, and be deſigned to point out ſomething deſerving attention.

It was more particular ſtill, if the perſon to be married was one that was underſtood to have determined to paſs her days in a ſtate of *virginity*. She appears to have been called a Propheteſs, If. viii. 3: this was previous to her becoming a Prophet's wife, and ſhould ſeem to point out a perſon who devoted herſelf to *retirement and ſtudy*, and conſequently to a ſingle life. Lady Montague tells us, there is no remaining honourably a *ſingle* woman among the Turks[2]; and I think ſhe ſomewhere ſays it is eſteemed a mark of *reprobation*; for bringing forth and educating children are the proper duties of a female. It is ſuppoſed poſterity was, at leaſt, equally deſired among the Jewiſh people; neverthe-

[2] Letters, vol. 3. p. 36, 37.

leſs, we find ſome of their females continued in a *ſingle ſtate*; and that circumſtance, and their propheſying, are united together, Acts xxi. 9. If there was a like union between them in theſe more ancient times, Iſaiah, when he married a Propheteſs, married a *Virgin* in a ſtronger ſenſe than common.

In either caſe, the prophetic management was particular; if they were joined together, it was *extremely remarkable*.

All the *preſent eſtabliſhment* given to the faith and hope of that generation, that the *houſe of David* ſhould not be overwhelmed with deſtruction, when two ſuch threatening enemies as the Kings of Syria and Iſrael were leagued together againſt it; and it was a common policy to exterminate *whole families* to which royalty had belonged[3]; was the Prophet's pointing out a *particular perſon*, who ſhould *almoſt immediately conceive*, ſhould go happily through *the ſtages* of her pregnancy, ſhould bear a *ſon*, which ſon ſhould live till *both thoſe countries* were forſaken of their Kings, and this event to happen before he was capable of *diſcerning between good and evil*. All theſe were contingencies which might not happen; and, on the contrary, when the prediction appeared to be verifying from point to point, their hope muſt be greatly confirmed, that the houſe of David ſhould continue, and that the promiſes relating to the Meſſiah, who was to reign for ever

[3] See 1 Kings 15. 29, ch. 16. 11, 2 Kings 11. 1.

and

and ever, ſhould be fulfilled, contrary to their anxious forebodings.

It does not appear that that child's mother's being a *virgin*, had any thing to do in the eſtabliſhment of the faith and hope of *that generation*; it muſt have been *ſo diſtinctly* mentioned on ſome other account—What? is the queſtion.

The Jews, I apprehend, muſt be perplexed to aſſign the reaſon: not ſo the diſciples of Jeſus. For though the *virginity* of the mother of that child had nothing to do with the men of that generation, yet, it being ſomehow connected with the appearance of him who was the Hope of Iſrael, and the Glory of the Houſe of David, it is reaſonable to believe it was as a repreſentation of what was to be his caſe—that he was to be the Firſt-born of his mother, and that his mother was to be ſomehow or other a Virgin, in a *remarkable* ſenſe. The firſt thought ſeems to be abſolutely neceſſary to be adopted: yet if this had been all, one would hardly imagine it ſhould have been pointed out with quite ſo much ſolemnity—the ſecond ſeems at leaſt to be a great probability.

Anſwerable to all this, the New Teſtament repreſents the Meſſiah as the *Firſt-born* of his mother; and it deſcribes her as a *Virgin* in ſuch a ſenſe, as that his birth was ennobled by being miraculous.

Nothing is more natural than ſuch an explanation of this prediction. The Prophet

expreſsly declares, that *he*, and the *children* God gave him, were for ſigns (לאותות), and wonders in Iſrael, ch. viii. 18; and this Hebrew word is uſed by this very Prophet, as ſignifying that the circumſtances attending him were ſimilar to thoſe that ſhould happen, in after-time, to them of whom he propheſied: ſuch was his walking *naked and bare-foot*, for a ſign and a wonder upon Ægypt and Ethiopia, ch. xx. 3.

I have dwelt the longer on this ſubject, becauſe it ſeems to me not to have been ſo happily explained as could be wiſhed.

Observation XLIV.

Job might well be ſtyled the *greateſt man* in the land of Uz, or of all that part of the Eaſt[1], when he was poſſeſſed of almoſt half as many camels as a *modern king of Perſia*.

An anecdote, mentioned by Sir J. Chardin in his MS, affords an happy illuſtration of what is ſaid of the riches of Job, who, we are told, was maſter of three thouſand camels. *The king of Perſia being in Mazanderan, in the year 76*[2], *the Tartars ſet upon the camels of the king, in the month of February, and took three thouſand of them, which was a great loſs to him, for he has but ſeven thouſand in all, if their number ſhould be complete; eſpecially conſidering it was winter, when it was difficult to procure others in a country which was a ſtranger to com-*

[1] Job i. 3. [2] 1676 is the year meant.

merce;

merce; and their importance, theſe beaſts carrying all the baggage, for which reaſon they are called the ſhips of Perſia. Upon theſe accounts the king preſently retired.

Many an European reader is not well apprized of the value of three thouſand camels; but there are few that are totally unacquainted with the riches and the pomp of Eaſtern princes, and the great figure the Sophi of Perſia makes among them; to ſuch readers the preceding account will not be uninſtructive.

Observation XLV.

Camels are not only of great importance in the Eaſt, for carrying of goods through the deſerts, and as furniſhing no deſpicable part of food to ſome nations there by their milk and their fleſh, but their *hair is uſeful for veſtments.*

This hair, Sir J. Chardin tells us [1], *is not ſhorn from the camels like wool from ſheep, but they pull off this woolly hair, which the camels are diſpoſed in a ſort to caſt off*; as many other creatures, it is well known, change their coats yearly.

This hair, it ſeems, is made into cloth *now*; for Chardin aſſures us the modern derviſes wear ſuch garments, as they do alſo great leather girdles, and ſometimes feed on locuſts [2].

[1] In his MS. note on 1 Sam. xxv. 4. [2] In his note on Matt. 3. 4.

Observation XLVI.

Medicines in the Eaſt are chiefly applied *externally*, and in particular to the ſtomach and *belly*. Might not Solomon allude to ſimilar managements in his time, when he ſays concerning the fear of the Lord, "It "ſhall be *health to thy navel*, and marrow to "thy bones," Prov. iii. 8?

Sir John Chardin, in his MS, aſſures us of the fact, and applies it to the illuſtration of this paſſage. It is a compariſon, he tells us, *drawn from the plaiſters, ointments, oils, frictions, which are made uſe of in the Eaſt* upon the belly *and ſtomach in moſt maladies; they being ignorant in the villages of the art of making decoctions and potions, and the proper doſes of ſuch things, generally make uſe uſe of external medicines.*

Until I met with this obſervation, I did not ſee, I confeſs, any particular propriety in that clauſe of the royal Preacher.

Observation XLVII.

The bed-chamber in the Temple, in which Jehoſheba hid Joaſh in the days of Athaliah, mentioned 2 Kings xi. 2, and 2 Chron. xxii. 11, doth not ſeem to mean a *lodging-chamber*, but a chamber uſed as a *repoſitory for beds.*

I am

I am indebted to Sir John Chardin's MS. for this thought, which ſeems to be a juſt one; for the original words ſignify a *chamber of beds*, and the expreſſion differs from that which is uſed when a *lodging-chamber* is meant. He ſuppoſes then *that place is meant, where beds are kept: for in the Eaſt, and particularly in Perſia aud Turkey, beds are not raiſed from the ground with bed-poſts, a canopy, and curtains; people lie on the ground. In the evening they ſpread out a mattraſs or two of cotton, very light, &c, of which they have ſeveral in great houſes, againſt they ſhould have occaſion, and a room on purpoſe for them.*

In a chamber of beds, (the room uſed for the laying up beds,) it ſeems Joaſh was ſecreted. Underſtand it how you will, it appears that people were lodged in the Temple; and if *any* lodged there, it is to be ſuppoſed at particular times there were *many*, eſpecially the relations and friends of the High-prieſt. Here it may be right to conſult Neh. xiii. 4, 5. In the room in which the beds were depoſited, not a common bed-chamber, it ſeems the young Prince laid concealed. Chardin complains the Vulgar Latin tranſlation did not rightly underſtand the ſtory; nor have others repreſented the intention of the Sacred Writer *perfectly*, if he is to be underſtood after this manner.

Observation XLVIII.

Precious as gold is, there have been compoſitions, it ſhould ſeem, that have been *as highly eſteemed.*

Ezra viii. 27. affords us a proof of this: "Twenty baſons of *gold*, of a thouſand "drams; and two veſſels of fine copper," (or of yellow or ſhining braſs, according to the margin,) "*precious as gold.*"

The Corinthian braſs has been mentioned on this occaſion, which is ſaid to have been more eſteemed than ſilver among the Romans. But as the metal mentioned by Ezra ſeems to have been more valuable ſtill; ſo this Corinthian braſs was unknown in thoſe times, being a compoſition formed, accidentally, by the burning of Corinth, not one hundred and fifty years before the birth of our Lord, and ſuppoſed to conſiſt of a mixture of gold, ſilver, and braſs.

Sir John Chardin, in his MS. note, has mentioned a mixt-metal uſed in the Eaſt, and highly eſteemed there; and as the origin of this compoſition is unknown, it might, for aught we know, be as old as the time of Ezra, and be brought from thoſe more remote countries into Perſia, where theſe two baſons were given to be conveyed to Jeruſalem.

I have heard, ſays the note, *ſome Dutch gentlemen ſpeak of a metal in the iſland of Sumatra,*

matra, and among the Macaſſars, much more eſteemed than gold, which royal perſonages alone might wear. It is a mixture, if I remember right, of gold and ſteel, or of copper and ſteel. He afterwards added to this note, (for the colour of the ink differs,) *calmbac is this metal, compoſed of gold and copper. It in colour nearly reſembles the pale carnation roſe, has a very fine grain, the poliſh extremely lively. I have ſeen ſomething of it, &c. Gold is not of ſo lively and brilliant a colour; I believe there is ſteel mixed with the gold and the copper.*

He ſeems to be in doubt about the compoſition; but very poſitive as to it's beauty, and it's high eſtimation.

Observation XLIX.

When Naaman the Syrian requeſted two mules burden of earth, of the Holy-Land, to be given him by the Prophet, it has been generally underſtood to have been for the raiſing up an *altar* to the God of Iſrael; it is not however impoſſible to have been for ſome other purpoſe, ſince modern Eaſtern devotion, for a particular place, has led them to deſire *ſome of it's earth* for another uſe.

The MS. of Sir J. Chardin treats the common notion as *erroneous*, perhaps a little too poſitively; but it cannot be diſagreeable to communicate his note upon 2 Kings v. 17. to the world, as it is curious and amuſing, though

though numbers may be inclined ſtill to retain the common opinion. Naaman deſired this, he thinks, *as ſacred earth, taken from ſacred places, to pray upon, as the Mahometans do, having their beads made of earth, eſteemed ſacred by them, and who, in praying, bow themſelves down upon a ſmall quantity of the ſame earth*[1].

It would not have been diſagreeable if he had informed us how this earth is prepared, ſo as to make a laſting ſurface, on which to place themſelves in prayer, or on which they may place their foreheads, in proſtrating themſelves before God, as they are known to do: though perhaps, after all, as Sir John ſays nothing about Naaman's making beads of this earth, which machines of devotion are now very much uſed in the Eaſt, it may be thought as little certain that he deſired the earth to pray upon.

Observation L.

It is a very odd cuſtom in the Eaſt, that when they are angry with a perſon, they *abuſe and vilify his parents*; yet ſome traces of it ſeem to appear in Scripture.

Sir John Chardin aſſures us it is an Eaſtern cuſtom, in his MS. note on 1 Sam. xx. 30, and that it obtains through *all* the Eaſt: if it be, his introducing the mention of it here is extremely agreeable, as it may ſave us

[1] *Un petit palet de même terre*, are his words.

from

from ſome *falſe refinements* that appear in our Weſtern commentaries. Saul thought, it ſhould ſeem, on nothing but venting his anger againſt Jonathan; nor had any deſign to reproach his wife perſonally: the mention of her was only a vehicle by which, according to Oriental modes, he was to convey his reſentment againſt Jonathan into the minds of thoſe about him. "Then Saul's "anger was kindled againſt Jonathan, and "he ſaid unto him, Thou *ſon of the perverſe* "*rebellious woman*, do not I know," &c?

Observation LI.

The diſhonouring places which were treated with veneration by others, by making uſe of them for the *moſt diſgraceful diſcharges of animal nature*, was an ancient Oriental way of expreſſing diſlike, and it ſtill continues to be uſed there.

Jehu thus treated the temple of Baal: "he made it a draught-houſe," 2 Kings x. 27. Every one will ſuppoſe what a draught-houſe means, eſpecially if he recollects thoſe words in St. Matthew, "Do not ye yet un-"derſtand, that whatſoever entereth into "the mouth, goeth into the belly, and is "caſt out into the draught?" ch. xv. 17.

Sir John Chardin obſerves ſomewhere in his MS, that the Eaſtern people are more exquiſite in taking vengeance than thoſe in the Weſt. This ſeems to be a proof of it:

it: we ſtrike off the heads of images that have been ſuperſtitiouſly abuſed, ſet up in or about places of worſhip; we have pulled down or defaced buildings that we deteſt; the ſtone-coffin of a prince whoſe memory was execrated, has been made uſe of for a watering-trough for horſes; but I do not remember that any ſacred place was deſignedly, among us, made what our verſion calls a *draught-houſe*. It has been retained, however, in the Eaſt; and this MS. of his informs us, that Abbas the Great [1], having conquered Bagdad, treated the tomb of Hanifah, one of the Fathers of the Church among the Turks, after a ſimilar manner.

They that conſider the *great neatneſs* of the Eaſtern tombs; and the prayers that are poured out ſo frequently *at the graves of their holy men*, ſo that a tomb and an oratory are frequently much the ſame thing; will think there is a greater likeneſs between the two ſtories than may appear at firſt ſight.

Observation LII.

There is a note in the MS. I have ſo often cited, on a paſſage of the Apocrypha, which affords an exquiſite comment on the *ſurprize*

[1] Sovereign of Perſia. Both Perſians and Turks are Mohammedans, but of different ſects; and there are as mortal feuds on that account betwixt them, as there were anciently between the Jews and Samaritans.

of

of David's ſervants, at his behaviour when his firſt child by Bathſheba died [1].

The account Sir John gives us of Eaſtern mourning, in order to illuſtrate Eccleſiaſticus xxxviii. 17, is as follows. *The practice of the Eaſt is to leave a relation of the deceaſed perſon to weep and mourn, till on the third or fourth day at fartheſt, the relations and friends go to ſee him, cauſe him to eat, lead him to a bath, and cauſe him to put on new veſtments, he having before thrown himſelf on the ground, &c.*

The ſurprize of David's ſervants then, who had ſeen his bitter anguiſh while the child was ſick, aroſe apparently from this, that, when he found it was dead, he that ſo deeply lamented, aroſe *of himſelf* from the earth, without ſtaying for his friends coming about him, and that *preſently*; immediately bathed and anointed himſelf, inſtead of appearing as a mourner; and, after worſhipping God with ſolemnity, returned to his wonted repaſts, *without any interpoſition* of others; which as now, ſo perhaps anciently, was made uſe of in the Eaſt. The extremity of his ſorrow for the child's illneſs, and his not obſerving the common forms of grief afterwards, was what ſurprized his ſervants.

Every eye muſt ſee the general ground of aſtoniſhment; but this paſſage of Chardin gives great diſtinctneſs to our apprehenſions of it.

[1] 2 Sam. 12. 16—21.

OBSER-

Observation LIII.

Biſhop Pococke, in his Travels, has explained very particularly the rudder-bands mentioned by St. Luke, Acts xxvii. 40, and my plan excludes that account from theſe papers; but Sir John Chardin has mentioned ſome other things relating to this ſhip of St. Paul, which ought not to be omitted, ſince his MS. is not likely ever to be publiſhed.

Firſt, The Eaſtern people, he tells us, are wont *to leave their ſkiffs in the ſea, faſtened to the ſtern of their veſſels.* The ſkiff of this Ægyptian ſhip was towed along, it ſeems, after the ſame manner, v. 16, "We "had much work to come by the boat."

Secondly, They *never*, according to him, *hoiſt it into the veſſel, it always remains in the water, faſtened to the ſhip.* He therefore muſt ſuppoſe the taking it up, mentioned ver. 17, doth not mean hoiſting it up into the veſſel, as ſeveral interpreters have imagined, but drawing it up cloſe to the ſtern of the ſhip; and the word we tranſlate, in the thirtieth verſe, letting down into the ſea, muſt mean letting it go farther from the ſhip into the ſea.

Thirdly, He ſuppoſes this ſhip was like a *large modern Ægyptian ſaique, of three hundred and twenty tons, and capable of carrying from twenty-four to thirty guns.*

Fourthly, Theſe ſaiques, he tells us, *always carry their anchors at their ſtern, and never their prow*, contrarily to our managements; the anchors of St. Paul's ſhip were, in like manner, "caſt out of the ſtern," ver. 29.

Fifthly, They carry their anchors at ſome diſtance from the ſhip, *by means of the ſkiff, in ſuch a manner as always to have one anchor on one ſide, and the other on the other ſide, ſo that the veſſel may be between them, leſt the cables ſhould be entangled with each other.* To St. Paul's ſhip there were, it ſeems, four anchors, two on each ſide.

All theſe ſeveral particulars are contained, though not diſtinctly propoſed, in his remarks on the veſſel in which St. Paul was ſhipwrecked: the curious will properly conſider them. If the mode of navigating Eaſtern ſhips had been attended to, it is poſſible the jocular and lively remarks of ſome indevout ſailors, bordering on profaneneſs, would never have been made upon this part of the narration of St. Luke; and ſome clauſes would have been differently tranſlated from what we find them in our verſion.

Observation LIV.

The accounts that have been given by ſome that have lived in the Eaſt, concerning the *effects of circumciſion*, do not well agree with the explanations divers of the learned

have propoſed, of ſome paſſages of the Old Teſtament hiſtory.

The children of Iſrael, after forty years wandering in the wilderneſs, paſſed over Jordan, into the land promiſed their anceſtors, on the tenth day of the firſt month, and encamped in Gilgal, as we are told Joſh. iv. 19. They were circumciſed in Gilgal, ch. v. 9; and in that ſame encampment, it ſhould ſeem, they kept the Paſſover, ver. 10. The ſuppoſition of Biſhop Patrick, in his Commentary on Joſhua, is, that they croſſed the Jordan on the tenth of the firſt month, were circumciſed the eleventh, were at the worſt the thirteenth, and capable of obſerving the Paſſover, in all it's ceremonies, on the fourteenth.

The accounts of Eaſtern travellers ſhow, that there is too much precipitation here. *I have heard*, ſays Sir J. Chardin, in his ſixth MS. volume[1], *from divers renegadoes in the Eaſt, who had been circumciſed, ſome at thirty, ſome at forty years of age, that the circumciſion had occaſioned them a great deal of pain, and that they were obliged to keep their bed upon it at leaſt twenty or twenty-two days*[2]; *that they put nothing on the wound to make it cicatrize but burnt paper. They refer the little pain, that it is remarked this operation gives infants, to the ſoftneſs of the prepuce; whereas, in grown-up people this ſkin is very tough, and*

[1] On Gen. 34. 25. [2] *And that, during that time, they could not walk without feeling very ſevere pain.*

very ſenſible, becauſe of the arteries and veins there.

Without making any anatomical remarks here, the fact, I preſume, is ſufficiently authenticated, that it is about three weeks after people of thirty or forty years have been circumciſed, before they can, with tolerable eaſe, walk about; and conſequently, that the Paſſover cannot be imagined to have been ſolemnized on the fourth day after this circumciſion. Biſhop Patrick himſelf, in his Comment on Joſh. v. 8, ſuppoſes, that the pain was ſmarteſt on the third day; for which he cites Gen. xxxiv. 25; and yet, that the people were whole againſt the fourth day, which was the Paſſover. This is not a little extraordinary: that the Biſhop ſhould ſuppoſe that the pain of an operation, which was ſuch as rendered them incapable to fight *for their lives* on the third day after, ſhould, on the fourth, be ſo perfectly over, as to enable them, without any conſiderable inconvenience, to celebrate the Paſſover; for if the inconvenience had been conſiderable, it might, by an expreſs conſtitution of their Lawgiver, have been deferred till the fourteenth day of the ſecond month, Numb. ix. 10, 11. This appears, on the face of it, to be very ſtrange; but it is abſolutely incompatible with Sir J. Chardin's account, received from *ſeveral* renegadoes.

The Biſhop was certainly miſled here, by the ſpeedy healing of this kind of wound

in infants, which, I have been aſſured by ſome of the Jewiſh nation, is, in a very little time; *perhaps two or three days* was the preciſe expreſſion. It is otherwiſe with the adult; nor doth Gen. xxxiv. 25. ſhew that the pain was *moſt* intenſe on the third day, but *only* ſufficiently ſevere, *by that time*.

But how then are the circumſtances of this hiſtory to be ranged? I ſhould ſuppoſe it muſt be in one of theſe two ways: either, that the circumciſion was not performed till after the Paſſover was celebrated, which indeed was not agreeable to the law, Exod. xii. 48; or elſe, that the Paſſover was not ſolemnized till the fourteenth day of the *ſecond* month, which their law allowed, in that paſſage of Numb. ix. I juſt now cited.

Things might, very poſſibly, be conducted after the firſt manner: for the omiſſion of circumciſion while they were in the wilderneſs, ſhews they were not very exact, at that time, in their obſervation of the ceremonies of their law. Nothing alſo forbids our underſtanding the fourteenth day, of that day of the ſecond month. But I leave to the curious the determination of the point.

Observation LV.

The *weight of the ornaments* that the ſervant of Abraham put upon Rebecca appears to us rather extraordinary. Sir J. Chardin aſſures us, as heavy, and even heavier, were worn

worn by the women of the Eaſt when he was there.

The ear-ring, or jewel for the face, weighed half a ſhekel, and the bracelets for her hands ten ſhekels, Gen. xxiv. 22, which, as he juſtly obſerves in the margin of the MS, is about five ounces. Upon which he tells us, *the women wear rings and bracelets of as great weight as this, through all Aſia, and even much heavier. They are rather manacles than bracelets. There are ſome as large as the finger. The women wear ſeveral of them, one above the other, in ſuch a manner as ſometimes to have the arm covered with them from the wriſt to the elbow. Poor people wear as many of glaſs or horn. They hardly ever take them off: they are their riches.*

Observation LVI.

The Eaſtern people are oftentimes known by *ſeveral names:* this might ariſe from their having more names than one given them *at firſt*; or it might ariſe from their aſſuming a new and different name upon *particular occurrences* in life. This laſt is moſt probable, ſince ſuch a cuſtom *continues* in the Eaſt to this day; and it evidently was *ſometimes* done anciently, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 4, 2 Kings xxiv. 17.

The ſixth volume of the MS. C. ſeems to complain of expoſitors, for ſuppoſing one perſon had frequently different names; and

ſays, that the cuſtom of the Eaſt ſtill continues for perſons to have a new name upon a change of circumſtances. There ſeems to me to be ſome want of preciſion here: commentators have ſuppoſed, and the fact is apparent, that one and the ſame perſon has had different names; but they have determined, in common at leaſt, nothing about the *manner how they came by them*. Sir John thinks, very juſtly, that they were wont to be given upon *ſome change* in life; but then there might be a variation as to the conſequences. Some might invariably be called by the new name after it's being put upon them: thus I think Abraham was always ſo called in the latter part of his life, and never Abram; and his wife in like manner Sarah, and not Sarai: others might be called ſometimes by the one, ſometimes by the other, ſometimes by both joined together. So St. John tells us, in his Goſpel, that Jeſus gave the new name of Peter to the brother of Andrew, ch. i. 42: yet he repreſents Jeſus as afterwards calling him Simon, ch. xxi. 15, 16, 17; and John himſelf called him ſometimes Peter, and ſometimes Simon Peter, and that juſt together, ch. xviii. 10, 11.

But as the account that is given us of this variety of names in the MS. is curious, I would ſet down the ſubſtance of it. *Expoſitors ſuppoſe the Iſraelites, and other Eaſtern people, had ſeveral names, but this is an error; the reaſon of their being called by different names is*

becauſe

becauſe they frequently change them, as they change in point of age, condition, or religion. This cuſtom has continued to our times in the Eaſt, and is generally practiſed upon changing religions[1]*; and it is pretty common upon changing condition. The Perſians have preſerved this cuſtom more than any other nation. I have ſeen many governors of provinces among them aſſume new names with their new dignity. But the example of the reigning*[2] *King of Perſia is more remarkable: the firſt years of the reign of this Prince having been unhappy, on account of wars and famine in many provinces, his counſellors perſuaded him that the name he had till then borne was fatal, and that the fortune of the empire would not be changed till he changed that name. This was done: the Prince was crowned again, under the name of Soliman: all the ſeals, all the coins, that had the name of Sefi, were broken, the ſame as if the King had been dead, and another had taken poſſeſſion.—The women more frequently change their names than the men, whether owing to a natural inconſtancy, or that they do not agree to the alterations they find in life, being put upon them on account of their beauty, gaiety, their agility in dancing, or fine voice: and as theſe natural qualities are quickly loſt, either by accident, or by age, they aſſume other names, which better agree to their changed ſtate. Women that marry again, or let them-*

[1] Acts 13. 9. [2] He began his reign, I think, in 1667, and died in 1694.

ſelves out anew, and ſlaves, commonly alter their names upon theſe changes.

Observation LVII.

The mercy of God towards Iſrael in Ægypt, and his care of their preſervation there, were certainly very extraordinary; but moſt probably there was *nothing uncommon in what happened to the Iſraelitiſh women*, when Pharaoh directed the midwives to deſtroy their male infants in the birth.

Eaſy and quick deliveries were common before that among them, or there would have been *more than two midwives* made uſe of by the Iſraelitiſh women: on the other hand, theſe ſpeedy deliveries were not then *univerſal*; if they had, there would have been no great virtue in Shiphrah and Puah's telling Pharaoh the *undiſguiſed* ſtate of things among them: they certainly told Pharaoh what was true as to many of them, but they concealed ſome part of the truth from the cruel prince.

Rachel, and *the daughter-in-law of Eli the High-prieſt*, are proofs that travail in the Eaſt is ſometimes extremely bitter, is ſometimes fatal [1], in the common courſe of things; but a facility in introducing children into the world is more common perhaps among them, than among us. Biſhop Patrick, in his Commentaries, mentions Varro's account of the women of *Illyricum*, and Gataker's

[1] Gen. 35. 16, 1 Sam. 4. 19, 20.

relation

relation of what has ſometimes been known in *Ireland*. This might have been enlarged by citations from writers that have deſcribed the manners, &c, of the Indians of *North-America*; but it muſt be infinitely more amuſing, to be told what happens now in the Eaſt itſelf. This is done by Sir J. Chardin, in his ſixth MS. volume, in ſuch a manner as would make an omiſſion of it very inexcuſable.

After having obſerved that what is ſaid of the Hebrew women, in Exod. i. 19, ought not to give any mind pain, he adds, *ſince in Europe, where the people are robuſt, as in Switzerland and the North, it frequently happens that women bring their fruit into the world without much pain, and without aſſiſtance; I will only ſay, there are many large countries in Aſia where there are no profeſſed midvives at all, and that where there are, they are not very much known, the mothers delivering their daughters, and, for want of them, the relations or neighbours perform the office. I have known a woman, in Caramania, brought to-bed without help in the open fields*[2], *and was quite ſurprized to ſee her arrive, not long after me, at the place where we lodged. The people of the village laughed at my ſurprize, and told me this happened frequently in their country. It is ſaid, that, in Arabia, it often happens among the clans of ſhepherds that paſs from one ſide of the Ti-*

[2] *Three leagues*, he ſays in the margin, *from the village whither he was going.*

gris

gris to the other, and who croſs over on veſſels of leather blown up[3], *that their women fall in labour juſt as they ſhould croſs over, which, however, does not hinder their paſſage; the woman is in a moment delivered of the child, waſhes it in the river, wraps it up in ſome rags, places it on her leather-veſſel, and paſſes over with more eaſe than ſhe could have done had ſhe continued big with child.*

The apology of theſe midwives then was ſufficiently plauſible, and in many inſtances, without doubt, very juſt. Great was the difference between the Iſraelites, uſed to hardſhips, and the delicate Ægyptians, with reſpect *to the employing people of their profeſſion.*

Observation LVIII.

Sir J. Chardin confirms Dr. Shaw's account of the *devout poſture* of ſome people of the Levant, which reſembles that made uſe of by Elijah, juſt before the deſcent of the rain, 1 Kings xviii. 42.

Dr. Shaw's account may be found by turning to his two hundred and thirty-third page; that of the MS. C. is as follows: *The Derviſes, eſpecially thoſe of the Indies, put themſelves into this poſture,* he is ſpeaking of the attitude of Elijah on the top of Mount-Carmel, *in order to meditate, and alſo to repoſe themſelves. They tye their knees againſt their belly with their*

[3] Conſul Drummond deſcribes theſe in his Travels, p. 207, 208, and calls them Lowders.

girdle,

girdle, and lay their heads on the top; and this, according to them, is the beſt poſture for recollecting themſelves.

As ſo celebrated an interpreter as Biſhop Patrick has given a very different deſcription of the attitude of Elijah, in his Commentary on the Book of Kings, I thought this confirmation of Dr. Shaw's account would not be diſagreeable.

Observation LIX.

As the common cuſtoms of the Eaſt have been handed down to theſe late ages very little altered, ſo Sir J. Chardin is of opinion, that the ſame holds true as to ſome other uſages, and particularly with reſpect to the *exterior appearance of perſons of extraordinary reputed ſanctity.*

The obſervations he has made [1], relating to the reſemblance between the modern Eaſtern Derviſes and Faquirs [2] and the ancient Jewiſh Prophets, both thoſe that were true and thoſe that falſely aſſumed that character, are conſiderably ſtriking.

Theſe modern Eaſtern Religious, he tells us, *go clothed juſt as Elijah did,* who is called an *hairy* man, 2 Kings i. 8, on account of

[1] In a MS. note on 2 Kings i. 8. [2] The *Derviſes* are a ſort of Friars, who wander about the parts of Aſia neareſt to us, and are ſuppoſed to lead a life of more than ordinary ſanctity and auſterity. Much the ſame kind of people, that live in the more diſtant parts of Aſia, are called *Faquirs.*

his

his wearing an *hairy garment*, and was girded with a *leather girdle*. In other places Prophets are deſcribed as wearing a *rough garment, or garment of hair* [3]. Sir John repeats the ſame, in making remarks on the veſtment of John the Baptiſt.

The Derviſes, he gives us to underſtand, carry about with them the horn of an *he-goat*, or of a *wild ox*. They wear it as a kind of defence, though ſome others carry *hatchets with them* [4]; and he ſuppoſes Zedekiah, the ſon of Chenaanah [5], who had made him *horns of iron*, had them made as part of his *equipage*. It is not ſo underſtood, I think, in general; but it is rather ſuppoſed that they were made by this falſe Prophet, on purpoſe to exhibit a fallacious ſign to Ahab, of his puſhing Syria till it was deſtroyed. It's being, however, at preſent, a part of the equipage of a Derviſe, may incline one to believe it was an inſtrument Zedekiah had before wore, and only applied it to this uſe at that time.

The Derviſes, he tells us, go *bare-headed*, and he thinks, from what is ſaid of Eliſha, 2 Kings ii. 23, the Prophets muſt have practiſed the ſame. On which I would farther obſerve, that if the Prophets diſtinguiſhed themſelves from other people in thoſe times, as the Derviſes do now, theſe young people

[3] Zech. 13. 4. [4] They make uſe of them alſo for another purpoſe—that of proclaiming the generoſity of thoſe that give them alms. See ch. 5th, Obſ. 23d, note. [5] 2 Chron. 18. 10.

were

were not only guilty of not honouring *old age*, as the law required, Lev. xix. 32, but of *knowingly and intentionally* inſulting a *Prophet* of God.

Theſe are correſpondences that engage attention.

Observation LX.

The aſſociation between *ſpitting* and ſhame is ſuch now in the Eaſt, that we in common have no conception of; though ſome acquaintance with their views of things ſeems to be highly requiſite, to underſtand ſome paſſages of Sacred Antiquity.

Monſieur d'Arvieux tells us, "the Arabs "are ſometimes diſpoſed to think, that "when a perſon ſpits, it is done out of "contempt; and that they never do it be-"fore their ſuperiors[1]." But Sir J. Chardin's MS. goes much farther: he tells us, in a note on Numb. xii. 14, that *ſpitting before any one, or ſpitting upon the ground in ſpeaking of any one's actions, is, through the Eaſt, an expreſſion of extreme deteſtation.*

Here are two things to be remarked: one, that though ſpitting is in common a thing totally indifferent among us, with reſpect to expreſſing diſlike, it is otherwiſe in thoſe countries, where they ſeldom or never ſpit as a natural diſcharge, but when they do ſpit, it marks

[1] Voy. dans la Pal. p. 140.

out

out deteſtation, and *extreme* deteſtation; the other, that, in expreſſing their deteſtation of a perſon, they do not ſpit *upon him*, but upon the ground *before* him.

This gives a much ſtronger idea to this action, than multitudes have apprehended. Every one that has read the Old Teſtament with care muſt be ſenſible, it was a reproachful thing: but perhaps we have wondered that it ſhould be *preſcribed by law as a diſgrace*, which yet we know it was among the Jews, Deut. xxv. 9; and we have been aſtoniſhed that a father's diſhonouring a daughter by ſpitting, ſhould be thought to be ſo diſgraceful, as to engage her to retire from public view no fewer than ſeven days, Numb. xii. 14: this accounts for both—it expreſſes extreme deteſtation.

A ſecond thing is, that ſpitting upon the ground before a perſon's face is ſufficient to diſgrace very bitterly now, and therefore moſt probably was all that the Moſaic law required, in the twenty-fifth of Deuteronomy. The prefix Beth is very ſeldom applied to the Hebrew word which ſignifies *face*; but when it is, it appears to ſignify *before* a perſon's face, as well as *upon* the face [z]: and ſince it may be underſtood in this ſenſe; and ſince it is thought in the Eaſt to be enough to expreſs bitter deteſtation; it ſhould appear to

[z] Ezek. 42. 12, Joſh. 21. 44, ch. 23. 9, and Eſth. 9. 2, ſufficiently prove the point.

be

be right to underſtand that law after this manner.

Whether the vehemence of the Jews might not carry them farther, with reſpect to our Lord, is another conſideration.

Niebuhr, I have lately found, gives juſt the ſame account, p. 26; the aſſociation then between ſpitting and ſhame may be conſidered as a moſt ſure fact.

Observation LXI.

It is the cuſtom in Perſia, to announce to the father *the birth of his male children* with particular ceremonies, of which ſome account ought to be given.

This is a note Sir J. Chardin has on Jer. xx. 15; but unluckily no account of theſe ceremonies is to be found, that I know of, in thoſe papers. Something of this kind, however, it ſhould ſeem, obtained among the Jews: the congratulation would otherwiſe have been ſuppoſed to have been conveyed to the father of Jeremiah, by ſome female aſſiſtant at the birth; whereas it is ſuppoſed to have been conveyed, on the contrary, by one of the other ſex—"Curſed be the *man* "who brought tidings to my father, ſay-"ing, A man-child is born unto thee."

Obſer-

Observation LXII.

Ezekiel's [1] *manner of reckoning* the number of ſhekels in a maneh, which it ſeems were threeſcore, appears very ſtrange to us; but, according to the MS. C, was perfectly in the Oriental taſte.

The words of Ezekiel are, "The ſhekel "ſhall be twenty gerahs: twenty ſhekels, "twenty-five ſhekels, fifteen ſhekels ſhall "be your maneh." Some of the learned have ſuppoſed, there were three different coins of the three ſeveral values which the Prophet mentions, and that one of each put together ſhould make a maneh. But if there actually were ſuch coins, it doth not appear why the Prophet ſhould deſcribe a maneh after this manner: it ſeems to us that it would have been infinitely more ſimple to have ſaid, "The ſhekel ſhall be twenty "gerahs, and your maneh threeſcore ſhe-"kels."

But this MS. informs us, that *it is the cuſtom of the Eaſt, in their accompts and their reckonings of a ſum of money, to ſpecify the different parts of which it is compoſed: talking after this manner, I owe twenty-five——of which the half is twelve and one half, the quarter ſix and one fourth, &c.* This appears extremely odd to us; but if it was the cuſtom of thoſe

[1] Ch. 45. 12.

coun-

countries, it is no wonder Ezekiel reckoned after this manner.

Observation LXIII.

Sir J. Chardin obſerved in the Eaſt, *that in their contracts for their temporary wives,* (which are known to be frequent there, *which contracts are made before the Kady,) there is always the formality of a meaſure of corn mentioned, over and above the ſum of money that is ſtipulated.*

I do not know of any thing that ſhould occaſion this formality of late days in the Eaſt; it may then poſſibly be very ancient, as it is apparent this ſort of wife is: if it be, it will perhaps account for Hoſea's purchaſing a woman of this ſort for fifteen pieces of ſilver, and a *certain quantity of barley*, ch. iii. 2.

Observation LXIV.

The Oriental bows, according to this writer [1], are wont to be carried, *in a caſe*, hung to their girdles; which caſe is ſometimes of cloth, but more commonly of leather.

For want of being ſufficiently aware of this, ſome commentators have expreſſed themſelves in a very obſcure manner, when they have been led to ſpeak of a paſſage of the Prophet Habakkuk, which plainly ſuppoſes this management: "Thy bow was made "quite naked," ch. iii. 9.

[1] MS. note on Habak. iii. 9.

OBSERVATION LXV.

Peter della Valle aſſures us, it is now cuſtomary in theſe countries to begin their journies at the *new moon*[1]: may not this, like many other uſages, be a remain of antiquity?

Our marginal tranſlation of Prov. vii. 20. agrees with this ſuppoſition: "The good "man is not at home, he is gone a long "journey; he hath taken a bag of money in "his hand, and will come home at the *new* "*moon*." The word doubtleſs ſignifies, in general, an appointed time; but it might mean, in particular, that of the new moon. So *Aquila* tranſlates the paſſage, who is noted for his ſtrict adhering to the preciſe meaning of the words of the Hebrew original.

So when the *Shunamite* propoſed going to *Eliſha*, her huſband diſſuaded her, by obſerving, it was neither *new moon nor ſabbath*, 2 Kings iv. 23: neither an *uſual time* for taking *ſecular* journies, the words may mean, nor *ſacred*. It is certain, the word ſabbath ſignifies any Jewiſh ſacred time, on the one hand; and on the other, that the new moons no where, in the Scriptures, appear to have been times peculiarly made uſe of for religious inſtruction, or *private* devotion.

The original word in common ſignifies *a throne*, it being only uſed twice[2] to ſignify the

[1] Travels into Eaſt India and Arabia Deſerta, p. 258.
[2] Here, and Pſ. 81. 3.

time

time of the new moon, or ſome appointed time; but the lexicographers, that I have conſulted, do not ſhow how a throne and the new moon are connected together. May I be permitted to propoſe it to the learned, to conſider whether 1 Sam. xx. 24, 25. doth not explain it? It appears there that new moons were obſerved as feſtivals in the Jewiſh court; that the King, in eating, then ſat on a ſeat, a throne I preſume, (a ſeat high, and lifted up,) on which his ſons and great men were wont to ſit in ſolemnity with him. Now if the King did not ſit in common on ſuch a ſeat, ſuch a management would make the conſidering the new moon and a throne as *correlative* things very natural.

Observation LXVI.

If the *cutting their fleſh* anciently, as expreſſive of grief, was conducted after the ſame manner as now, they were the *arms* that ſuffered chiefly, if not wholly; and the cruelties of people that were *beloved*, as well as thoſe of *enemies*, occaſioned theſe *gaſhes*.

We find Arabs, la Roque tells us from d'Arvieux, *who have their arms ſcarred by the gaſhes of a knife, which they ſometimes give themſelves, to mark out to their miſtreſſes what their rigour, and the violence of love, make them ſuffer. We content ourſelves with ſinging, I die, I languiſh*, &c; *thoſe good folks are more pathetic than we*, &c.

We often read of people cutting themſelves, in Holy Writ, when in great anguiſh; but we are not commonly told what *part* they wounded. The modern Arabs, it ſeems, gaſh their arms, which with them are often bare: it ſhould ſeem, from a paſſage of Jeremiah, the ancients wounded themſelves in the ſame part. "Every head ſhall be bald, "and every beard clipt; upon *all hands* ſhall "be cuttings, and upon the loins ſack-"cloth," ch. xlviii. 37.

The cuttings of the Old Teſtament, generally at leaſt, refer to more reſpected and pitied calamities. Beſides the paſſage juſt now cited, the reader may turn to Jer. xvi. 6, ch. xli. 5, and ch. xlvii. 5. The lunatic of the New Teſtament [1] perhaps, who cut himſelf, might poſſibly do it from the ſame principle with the modern Arabs; if not, the cuſtomarineſs of cutting themſelves, in times of anguiſh, might occaſion a management not ſo common among the lunatics of our times.

The attempt of the prieſts of Baal [2] to move the commiſeration of that Sidonian idol, by the ſame method the modern Arabs make uſe of to move the compaſſion of their hard-hearted miſtreſſes, is truly laughable. And if the intention of Moſes, in forbidding the Iſraelites to make ſuch cuttings in their fleſh, Deut. xiv. 1, was to prevent ſuch unworthy notions of the Deity he taught them to ſerve, the word *dead* in that text muſt be under-

[1] Mark 5. 5. [2] 1 Kings 18. 28.

ſtood to ſignify *dead idols*; nor will the Jewiſh cuſtom, referred to Jer. xvi. 6, appear to be a contravening that law.

Observation LXVII.

The Eaſtern ſoldiers, in times of peace, are diſpoſed of about the walls of places, and particularly in the towers and at the gates: it ſeems to have been ſo anciently.

Niebuhr tells us [1], that the *foot-ſoldiers* of the Imam of Yemen have very little to do in times of peace, any more than the cavalry: *ſome of them mount guard at the Dola's* [2]; *they are alſo employed at the gates, and upon the towers.*

The towers, in ſome of the Eaſtern cities, were made uſe of, it ſhould ſeem, for the lodging of their ſoldiers—they were their barracks: ſo Egmont or Heyman tells us, that there are ſixty or ſeventy towers in the outward wall of Alexandria; that they had in general three ſtories, and each ſeveral apartments, which, in his opinion, would hold ſome hundreds of ſoldiers for the defence of each, vol. 2. p. 121.

A very ingenious commentator [3] then ſeems to be a little unhappy, when, explaining Ezek. xxvii. 11, "The men of Arvad "with thine army were upon thy walls "round about, and the Gammadims were "in thy towers; they hanged their ſhields

[1] P. 186, 187. [2] The title of the Governors of the diſtricts of Yemen, or the Happy Arabia. [3] Mr. Lowth.

" upon the walls round about; they have " made thy beauty perfect:" he ſays, " they " defended thy walls *when they were aſſaulted* " by the king of Babylon's army." Ezekiel is deſcribing a time of peace and freedom of commerce, not of war; and Niebuhr gives us to underſtand, the walls are the places where the preſent Arab foot-ſoldiers appear *in time of peace*. Their *hanging their arms* on the walls round about, ſhows it was ſuch a time[4].

This laſt circumſtance may be illuſtrated too, by the account that Sandys gives of the decorations of one of the gates of the imperial ſeraglio in Conſtantinople, which, he tells us, is " hung with ſhields and ſcimitars," p. 25. Through this gate people paſs to the divan, where juſtice is adminiſtered; and theſe are the ornaments of this public paſſage. The inner walls of the gates and towers of Tyre were ornamented, probably, after the ſame manner.

Who the Gammadim of this verſe were I ſhall leave to the future examination of the learned: I would only take the liberty to obſerve, that the notion of one writer of

[4] Perhaps it even expreſſes *feſtivity and triumph*: ſo Father Vanſleb deſcribes an Eaſtern Ziné, or public rejoicing, as celebrated by the hanging out lamps and tapeſtry; to which he adds, that the Beys cauſe to be ſuſpended, at the entrance of their palaces, a quantity of beautiful *arms*, as *head-pieces*, *corſlets*, *coats of mail*, *muſquets*, *ſabres*, *targets*, &c. Relation d'Egypte, p. 335, 336.

eminence,

eminence, that they were *pigmies*, and that of another, that they were the *tutelar deities* of Tyre, of the height of a cubit, ſeem to be not a little idle. *Dwarfs* have been in conſiderable vogue, in former times, in the courts of Princes, but as *buffoons*, not as *guards*; and though ſome modern antiquaries may have ſpoken of *idolatrous images* as the *beauty* of ſome ancient cities, I cannot believe that a *Jewiſh Prophet* would be ſo complaiſant.

Observation LXVIII.

The being clothed in *blue* was, in the days of the Prophet Ezekiel, conſidered as a *rich dreſs*; at preſent, the moſt *ordinary* Eaſtern people are dreſſed in blue: this contrariety deſerves ſome attention.

That it is now the common dreſs of the ordinary Eaſtern women, appeareth from many writers. Niebuhr, one of the lateſt of them, tells us[1], that "the whole of "the dreſs of a woman of common rank" (in Arabia he means) "conſiſts of drawers, "and a very large ſhift; the one and the "other is of *blue linen*, wrought by a needle "with ſome ornaments of a different co-"lour." Thevenot deſcribes the ſhirts worn by the Arabs, between Ægypt and Mount Sinai, as blue: "theſe people, who are very "numerous, live in the deſarts, where

[1] P. 57.

" (though they lead a *moſt wretched* life) yet " they think themſelves moſt happy. Their " clothing is a long blue ſhirt, &c [2]."

The Prophet Ezekiel, on the other hand, ſuppoſes blue to be a *rich and beautiful* dreſs: " She doted on her lovers, on the Aſſyrians " her neighbours, which were clothed with " *blue, Captains and Rulers,* all of them *de-* " *ſirable* young men," Ezek. xxiii. 6; and he mentions *blue clothes,* among other rich merchandize, ch. xxvii. 24. I do not mention the ſeventh verſe of that chapter, becauſe I am in doubt whether the *blue and the purple* there, refer to the *clothing* of the Tyrians; they may, perhaps, relate to their *ſhiping*: either the colours with which they were *painted*; or the *awnings* they placed over part of them, agreeable to the account that is given us of the covering of Solomon's chariot, Cant. iii. 10.

The contraſt in this article is very ſenſible: blue linen, now worn by the moſt *ordinary* people; anciently the moſt *rich clothing*. I can account for it no otherwiſe, than by ſuppoſing, that the art of *dyeing* blues was firſt found out in countries more to the Eaſt or South than Tyre; and that the dye was by no means become common, ſo low down as the time of Ezekiel: though ſome, that were employed in the conſtruction of the Tabernacle, ſeem to have poſſeſſed the art of dyeing with blue, Exod. xxxv. 35; and ſome of the

[2] P. 173. part 1.

Tyrians,

Tyrians, in the time of Solomon, 2 Chron. ii. 7. 14. Remote countries were the places where theſe blue cloths were manufactured; and to them, who wore ſcarce any thing but woollens and linens of the natural colour, theſe blue callicoes formed very magnificent veſtments.

Niebuhr mentions [3] two places in *Arabia*, in which *indigo* is now cultivated and prepared: whether it grew there anciently, or in what other places, may not be eaſy at this time to determine.

Observation LXIX.

The very ingenious editor of the Ruins of Palmyra ſuppoſeth [1], that it was the Eaſt-Indian trade that ſo enriched that city, and he ſuppoſes that this was as ancient at leaſt as the time of Solomon; if it was, Tyre, one would imagine, muſt have had thoſe commodities conveyed to it in the time of Ezekiel: perhaps then that Prophet's account of the Tyrian commerce, given us in the twenty-ſeventh chapter of his book of prophecies, may nearly let us into the extent of that traffic in his time, whether carried on through Syria, ver. 16, that is, by way of Palmyra, or through Arabia.

Butz, tranſlated in our verſion fine linen, and which, I have elſewhere ſhewn, probably means callicoes or muſlins; broidered

[3] P. 197, 198; ſee alſo p. 133.

[1] P. 18, 19.

work,

work, the original word for which may mean chintſes, perhaps, and other figured works [2], as well as proper needle-work [3]; and three ſorts of precious ſtones; are all the Prophet mentions as coming by way of Syria, or Palmyra. I ſay all, for I think the word purple belongs to that precious ſtone which our tranſlators have rendered emeralds, and does not mean a diſtinct commodity; ſince all the other terms have the copulative particle prefixed to them, and the ſame ſhould have been done to the word purple, had it meant a diſtinct thing: the intention of the Prophet ſeems then to have been to ſay, "Syria was thy merchant——they occupied "in thy fairs with the purple nophec, and "broidered work," &c. Whether the word purple means the colour ſo denominated, or whether it means only bright or reſplendent, it ſeems to be the deſcriptive epithet of thenophec brought to Tyre by the way of Syria.

Other Eaſt-Indian goods may be included in the liſts mentioned, ver. 22, 24, as brought to Tyre by other merchants: but it is not of any great conſequence, I apprehend, to determine the ſeveral countries from whence they were originally brought, whe-

[2] Poſſibly even Porcelain and Japan-work. [3] Of which there are two kinds: the one tracing out figures, by plain white ſtitches, common at this time in the Eaſt; the other delineating flowers and leaves with various colours, (commonly underſtood by the term embroidery,) of which frequent ſpecimens are now imported among us from the Eaſt-Indies, ſome of them extremely curious.

ther

ther the Eaſt-Indies, Ethiopia, or Arabia; it is ſufficient to take notice, that the 16th verſe ſeems to give us an account of what were *then* the chief articles of the Palmyra trade.

Whether the commodities Tyre obtained from Syria, means thoſe that came by way of Palmyra, or not, we may be pretty certain ſome of them, at leaſt, were not the natural product of Syria, but came from more diſtant places; ſince Dr. Ruſſell tells us [4], there are no metals found in all Syria, ſo far as he knew of; and then mentions a few *garnets*, but of an inferior quality, found near Antioch, but no other gems [5].

Observation LXX.

The *precious clothes for chariots*, which was the merchandize *Dedan* brought to Tyre, Ezek. xxvii. 20, I ſhould think mean *carpets*.

I have elſewhere ſhewn, that *litters and counes* are the vehicles which the Scriptures ſeem to mean, when they ſpeak of *chariots*, excepting thoſe that were uſed in war; and one cannot eaſily imagine any manufacture more proper to ſit or lie upon, in theſe chariots, than *thick and ſoft carpets*.

Whether the term that is here made uſe of, and which the marginal tranſlation tells

[4] P. 47. [5] Whereas Ezekiel ſpeaks of three different kinds of precious ſtones brought from Syria to Tyre.

us ſignifies *clothes of freedom*, may prove that carpets began at this time to be ſat upon by perſons of diſtinction, while ſlaves cannot be ſuppoſed to have ſuch conveniencies, deſerves conſideration.

Be theſe things as they may, *carpets* are now exported, it ſeems, according to Niebuhr, from that part of Arabia called *Hadramaut*, to that part called *Yemen*, and might very well be brought by their caravans to Tyre in the days of antiquity.

Observation LXXI.

Numbers of the Southern Arabs aſſemble in their markets *by way of amuſement*, and conſequently, it ſhould ſeem, *for converſation*: the ſame cuſtom appears anciently to have obtained, in places of the Eaſt, leſs remote from us than *Yemen*.

" Notwithſtanding this external gravity," ſays Niebuhr [1], " the Arabs love a great deal " of company; accordingly, one ſees them " aſſiduouſly aſſembling in the public coffee- " houſes, and, above all, running to *fairs*, " in which no country, perhaps, more a- " bounds than Yemen; ſince hardly is a village " of any conſideration to be found, which " has not a weekly fair. When the villages " are at ſome diſtance from each other, their " inhabitants aſſemble on the appointed day " in the *open fields*. Some come hither to

[1] P. 25.

" buy

" buy or to ſell; others, who are mechanics " of various profeſſions, employ ſometimes " the whole week in going from one little " borough to another, in order to work at " theſe fairs; and finally, many propoſe to " themſelves to paſs away the time there " more agreeably than at home. From this " taſte of the Arabs for ſociety, and eſpe- " cially of thoſe of Yemen, it is eaſy to " infer that they are more civilized than it " may be we imagined."

Michaelis, the great promoter of Niebuhr's expedition into the Eaſt, has taken notice of this paſſage in his extract from this work[2], ſaying, " The public places are, " to this day, in Yemen, the places of di- " verſion, and thus ſerve two uſes; (juſt as " the gates of cities, which anciently were " made their public places, as we are told in " the Bible, Gen. xix. 1, Job xxix. 7, Pſ. " lxix. 13, &c.)"

This remark is very ſhort, and indeed *obſcure*. It is univerſally known that the *gates* were anciently the places where they held their courts of judicature; but places of judicature, and markets or fairs, are very different things. The places this learned author has cited from the Bible have been underſtood, and, I think, commonly, to relate to *magiſtrates* ſitting in the gates. That in Job certainly refers to his acting as a judge among his countrymen; the twelfth, ſix-

[2] P. 13.

teenth,

teenth, and ſeventeenth verſes indubitably prove it. Biſhop Patrick gave a like ſenſe to the other two [3]. Theſe quotations then are unhappy; and the candid Michaelis will, I hope, indulge me the liberty of citing ſome other paſſages of Holy Writ, and applying the circumſtance occaſionally mentioned by Niebuhr to the illuſtration of them.

1. St. Luke ſpeaks of St. Paul's *diſputing in the market* daily with the Athenian philoſophers, Acts xvii. 17, 18. In our country the carrying on religious diſputations in markets would be thought very improper, and the effect of intemperate zeal; but it would be agreeable enough in Arabia, where, it ſhould ſeem, people meet in ſuch places for converſation. Probably the *ſalutations in the markets*, which the Evangeliſts tell us the phariſees loved [4], were the applications people in diſcourſe were wont to make to them, in order to decide the matters they were controverting; ſo the multitude ſaluted our Lord in this manner, Mark ix. 15. They were extremely afraid of being *defiled* by being in markets; why then did they not abſtain from ſuch places, and tranſact the buſineſs of them by the intervention of others? May we not believe it was for the ſake of ſhining in *converſations* there, and diſplaying their learning? Our Lord ſpeaks alſo of *children* making uſe of markets for their puerile di-

[3] In his Commentaries. [4] Matt. 23. 7, Mark 12. 38, Luke 11, 43.

verſions,

verſions, Matt. xi. 16. They were then, it ſeems, the common places for diverſion and amuſement, uſed by old and young: by the aged for converſation [5], by the young for piping and dancing.

2. They held their markets in their *gates*, it ſhould ſeem, anciently, from what is ſaid 2 Kings vii. 1, 18, where we read that a meaſure of fine flour was to be ſold for a ſhekel, and two meaſures of barley for a ſhekel, in the *gate of Samaria*. It doth not appear why the gate ſhould be mentioned, if it was not conſidered as the public market, where the ſpoils of the Syrians were to be ſold. In their *gates* then, or in a *void ſpace* at the entrance of their gates, ſee 1 Kings xxii. 10, they held their markets and their courts of judicature both; as afterwards, it ſhould ſeem, when their *gates* were not uſed for theſe purpoſes, the ſame place that ſerved for

[5] The ſuppoſed ſcene of the firſt aſſembly, or moral diſcourſe, of the exquiſite Arabian writer *Hariri*, entitled Sananenſis, ſeems to have been ſuch an open and public place. It ſhould not then have been repreſented, I apprehend, as it is by the learned Chappelow, in the preface to his tranſlation, as "the ſubject of a *friendly ſociety* at Sanaa, in "Arabia Felix." It appears from the manner of his withdrawment, p. 7, that the orator was ſuppoſed to be unknown, and that it was to be underſtood to be an occaſional diſcourſe, pronounced by a Derviſe, an Eaſtern religious beggar, who had gathered a great number of people about him, in ſome market, or ſome ſuch open place, preaching to them there the precepts of religion. We meet with accounts in travellers of ſuch public diſcourſes of their Religious.

the

the one was made uſe of for the other, Acts xvi. 19.

People then might *ſit in the gate* anciently for *converſation and diverſion*, as they do now, among the Arabs, in *markets and fairs*. It ſeems moſt natural to interpret Lot's ſitting in the gate, Gen. xix. 1, after this manner. Certainly he did not ſit there as a magiſtrate, for had that been his character, they could not have reproached him, though a ſtranger, with ſetting up to be a judge, ver. 9; nor can we imagine he ſat there purpoſely to invite *all* ſtrangers to his houſe, that would have been carrying his *hoſpitality to an exceſs*, it being enough for one in private life to receive ſuch as came in his way: he ſeems then to have placed himſelf there for amuſement and ſociety. Pſ. lxix. 12. may be interpreted either way—*Men of* rank and influence *in life ſpeak againſt me*; or, *the children of my people, in their leiſure hours, when they aſſemble in the gate* for converſation, *ſpeak againſt me, and I am the ſong of the drunkard.*

If we ſuppoſe the Jews were wont to have *moral and wiſe* diſcourſes in their gates, as the Arabs are ſuppoſed by *Hariri* to have had in public places, and as the Athenian Philoſophers are ſuppoſed by St. Luke to have held in their markets, Acts xvii. 17, 18, there will appear a much greater energy in thoſe words of Solomon, than is commonly apprehended, Prov. i. 20, 21, "*Wiſ-*
"*dom* crieth without, ſhe uttereth her voice
"in

" in the *streets:* she crieth in the chief place " of concourse, in the *opening of the gates,*" &c; and again, ch viii. 3, " She crieth at " the *gates,* at the *entry of the city,*" &c. The *synagogues* were, in later times, the places for *Jewish instruction*; but are we sure there were synagogues in the days of Solomon?

Observation LXXII.

Nothing is more common, in the East, than the comparing princes to *lions,* or better known to those that are acquainted with their writings; but the comparing them to *crocodiles,* if possessed of *naval* power, or strong by a *watery* situation, has hardly ever been mentioned.

D'Herbelot, however, cites [1] an Eastern Poet, who celebrating the prowess of Gelaleddin, surnamed Mankberni, and Khovarezme Schach, a most valiant Persian Prince, said, " He was dreadful as a *lion* in the " field, and not less terrible in the water " than a *crocodile.*"

The power of the ancient Kings of *Ægypt* seems to be represented after the same manner, by the Prophet Ezekiel, ch. xxix. 3, " Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh King " of Ægypt, the great *dragon,* (the great " *crocodile,*) that lieth in the midst of his " rivers, which hath said, My river is mine " own, and I have made it myself." In

[1] Bibliotheque Orient. p. 371.

his xxxiid chapter 2d verſe, the ſame Prophet makes uſe of both the ſimiles, I think, of the panegyriſt of Gelaleddin: "Take up "a lamentation for Pharaoh King of Æ- "gypt, and ſay unto him, Thou art like a "*young lion* of the nations, and thou art as "a whale (a *crocodile*) in the ſeas: and thou "cameſt forth with (or from) thy rivers, "and troubledſt the waters with *thy feet*, "and fouledſt their rivers."

It is very odd in our tranſlators, to render the original word *whale*, and at the ſame time talk of *feet*; nor indeed are *rivers* the abode of the whale, it's bulk is too great to admit of that: the term *dragon*, which is thrown into the margin, is the preferable verſion: which word in our language, as the Hebrew word in the original, is, I think, *generic*, and includes the ſeveral ſpecies of oviparous quadrupeds, if not thoſe of the ſerpentine kind[2]. A crocodile is, without doubt, the creature the Prophet means; and the compariſon ſeems to point out the puiſſance of the Ægyptian Kings of antiquity, powerful by *ſea* as well as by land.

[2] A collation of the ſeveral paſſages of the Old Teſtament, in which the word tranſlated dragons occurs, confirms this deſcription, but will not eaſily allow us to ſuppoſe the *jackall* could ever be meant. See Dr. Shaw, p. 174, note 2.

THE END.

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